

BOOK III.

THALIA.

AGAINST this Amasis, Cambyses, son of Cyrus, made war, leading with him both others, his own subjects, and of the Grecians, Ionians and Æolians. The cause of the war was this : Cambyses, having sent a herald into Egypt, demanded the daughter of Amasis ; and he made this demand at the suggestion of an Egyptian physician, who out of spite served Amasis in this manner, because, *having selected* him out of all the physicians in Egypt, and torn him from his wife and children, he had sent him as a present to the Persians, when Cyrus, having sent to Amasis, required of him the best oculist in Egypt. The Egyptian therefore, having this spite against him, urged on Cambyses by his suggestions, bidding him demand the daughter of Amasis, in order that if he should comply he might be grieved, or if he refused he might incur the hatred of Cambyses. But Amasis, dreading the power of the Persians, and being alarmed, knew not whether to give or to deny ; for he was well aware that Cambyses purposed to take her, not as his wife, but his mistress. Having considered these things, he did as follows. There was a daughter of Apries, the former king, very tall and beautiful, the only survivor of the family ; her name was Nitetis. This damsel, Amasis, having adorned with cloth of gold, sent to Persia as his own daughter. After a time, when Cambyses saluted her, addressing her by her father's name, the damsel said to him, "O king, you do not perceive that you have been imposed upon by Amasis, who, having dressed me in rich attire, sent me to you, presenting me as his own daughter ; whereas, in truth, I am the daughter of Apries, whom he, though he was his own master, put to death, after he had incited the Egyptians to revolt." These words, and this accusation, induced

Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, being greatly enraged, to invade Egypt. Such is the account the Persians give. 2. But the Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, saying, that he was born from this daughter of Apries ; for that it was Cyrus, and not Cambyses, who sent to Amasis for his daughter ; but in saying this they err. Nor indeed could it escape their notice, (for if any people are well acquainted with the Persian customs, the Egyptians are so,) that first of all, it is not customary with them for a natural son to reign, when there is a legitimate son living ; and secondly, that Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, one of the Achæmenidæ, and not of the Egyptian woman. But they pervert the truth, claiming to be related to the family of Cyrus. And this is the real state of the case. 3. This other story is also told, which to me seems incredible. A certain Persian lady visited Cyrus's women, and when she saw the children of Cassandane, beautiful and tall, standing by her, praised them highly, being exceedingly struck with them ; but Cassandane, wife of Cyrus, said, "Though I am the mother of such children, Cyrus holds me in disdain, and honours her whom he has obtained from Egypt." This she said through envy of Nitetis ; but the eldest of her sons, Cambyses, said, "Therefore, mother, when I am a man, I will turn all Egypt upside down." He said this when he was about ten years of age, and the women were much astonished ; but he, bearing it in mind when he grew up and was possessed of the kingdom, accordingly invaded Egypt.

4. The following other incident also occurred to promote this invasion. There was among the auxiliaries of Amasis a man by birth an Halicarnassian, whose name was Phanes, one able in counsel and valiant in war. This Phanes, owing some spite to Amasis, escaped in a ship from Egypt, with a design to confer with Cambyses. But as he was a man of no small consequence among the auxiliaries, and was very accurately acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, Amasis sent in pursuit of him, making every effort to take him ; and he sent the most trusty of his eunuchs in pursuit of him, with a trireme, who caught him in Lycia, but having taken him, did not bring him back to Egypt, for Phanes overreached him by artifice ; for having intoxicated his guards, he got away to the Persians ; and coming over to Cambyses as he was preparing

to march against Egypt, and was in doubt about his route, how he should pass the arid desert, he informed him both of other affairs of Amasis, and explained to him the route, thus advising him: to send to the king of the Arabians, and ask him to grant him a safe passage through his territories. 5. By this way only is there an open passage into Egypt. For from Phœnicia to the confines of the city of Cadytis, which belongs to those who are called the Syrians of Palestine, and from Cadytis, which is a city in my opinion not much less than Sardis, the sea-ports as far as the city of Jenysus belong to the Arabian king: and again, from Jenysus, as far as the lake Serbonis, near which Mount Casius stretches to the sea, belongs to the Syrians: and from the lake Serbonis, in which Typhon is reported to have been concealed, Egypt begins. Now, the country between the city of Jenysus, Mount Casius, and the lake Serbonis, which is no small tract, but about a three days' journey, is utterly destitute of water. 6. A circumstance that few of those who have made voyages to Egypt have noticed, I shall now proceed to mention. From every part of Greece, and also from Phœnicia, earthen vessels filled with wine are imported into Egypt twice every year, and yet, so to speak, not a single one of these wine jars is afterwards to be seen. In what way then, some one may ask, are they disposed of? This I will also relate. Every magistrate is obliged to collect all the vessels from his own city, and send them to Memphis; but the people of that city, having filled them with water, convey them to those arid parts of Syria; so the earthen vessels continually imported and landed in Egypt, are added to those already in Syria. 7. Thus the Persians, as soon as they became masters of Egypt, facilitated the passage into that country, by supplying it with water in the manner above mentioned. But as, at that time, water was not provided, Cambyses, by the advice of the Halicarnassian stranger, sent ambassadors to the Arabian, and requested a safe passage, which he obtained, giving to and receiving from him pledges of faith.

8. The Arabians observe pledges as religiously as any people; and they make them in the following manner: when any wish to pledge their faith, a third person, standing between the two parties, makes an incision with a sharp stone in the palm of the hand, near the longest fingers, of both the

contractors; then taking some of the nap from the garment of each, he smears seven stones, placed between them, with the blood; and as he does this, he invokes Bacchus and Urania. When this ceremony is completed, the person who pledges his faith, binds his friends as sureties to the stranger, or the citizen, if the contract be made with a citizen, and the friends also hold themselves obliged to observe the engagement. They acknowledge no other gods than Bacchus and Urania, and they say that their hair is cut in the same way as Bacchus's is cut; but they cut it in a circular form, shearing it round the temples. They call Bacchus, Orotal; and Urania, Alilat. 9. When therefore the Arabian had exchanged pledges with the ambassadors who came from Cambyses, he adopted the following contrivance: having filled camels' skins with water, he loaded them on all his living camels; and having done this, he drove them to the arid region, and there awaited the army of Cambyses. This is the most credible of the accounts that are given; yet it is right that one less credible should be mentioned, since it is likewise affirmed. There is a large river in Arabia called Corys, which discharges itself into that called the Red Sea. From this river then it is said that the king of the Arabians, having sewn together a pipe of ox-hides and other skins, reaching in length to the arid region, conveyed the water through it; and that in the arid region he dug large reservoirs, to receive and preserve the water. It is a twelve days' journey from the river to the arid region; he therefore conveyed water through three several pipes into three different places.

10. Psammenitus the son of Amasis lay encamped at that called the Pelusiatic mouth of the Nile, awaiting Cambyses; for Cambyses did not find Amasis alive when he marched against Egypt; but Amasis died after a reign of forty-four years, during which no great calamity had befallen him. But having died, and being embalmed, he was buried in the sepulchre that is in the sacred precinct, which he himself had built.¹ During the reign of Psammenitus son of Amasis, a most remarkable prodigy befel the Egyptians; for rain fell at Egyptian Thebes, which had never happened before, nor since, to my time, as the Thebans themselves affirm. For no

¹ See Book II. chap. 169.

rain ever falls in the upper regions of Egypt ; but at that time rain fell in drops at Thebes. 11. The Persians, having marched through the arid region, halted near the Egyptians, as if with a design of engaging ; there the auxiliaries of the Egyptians, consisting of Greeks and Carians, condemning Phanes because he had led a foreign army against Egypt, adopted the following expedient against him : Phanes had left his sons in Egypt ; these they brought to the camp, within sight of their father, and placed a bowl midway between the two armies, then dragging the children one by one, they slew them over the bowl. When they slaughtered all the children, they poured wine and water into the bowl ; and, after all the auxiliaries had drank of the blood, they immediately joined battle. A hard battle having been fought, and when great numbers had fallen on both sides, the Egyptians were put to flight. 12. Here I saw a very surprising fact, which the people of the country informed me of. For as the bones of those who were killed in that battle lie scattered about separately ; (for the bones of the Persians lay apart in one place, as they did at first, and those of the Egyptians in another,) the skulls of the Persians were so weak, that if you should hit them only with a single pebble, you would break a hole in them ; whereas those of the Egyptians are so hard, that you could scarcely fracture them by striking them with a stone. The cause of this, they told me, is as follows, and I readily assented ; that the Egyptians begin from childhood and shave their heads, and the bone is thickened by exposure to the sun : from the same cause also they are less subject to baldness, for one sees fewer persons bald in Egypt than in any other country. This, then, is the cause of their having such strong skulls : and the reason why the Persians have weak skulls is this ; they shade them from the first, wearing tiaras for hats. Now, I myself saw that such was the case ; and I also observed the same thing at Papremis, with respect to those who were slain with Achæmenes² son of Darius, by Inarus the Libyan.

13. The Egyptians, when they were defeated, fled in complete disorder from the battle. When they had shut themselves up in Memphis, Cambyses sent a Mitylenæan bark up the river, with a Persian herald on board, to invite the Egyptians to terms. But they, when they saw the bark

² See Book VII. chap. 7.

entering Memphis, rushed in a mass from the wall, destroyed the ship, and having torn the crew to pieces, limb by limb, they carried them into the citadel. After this the Egyptians were besieged, and at length surrendered. The neighbouring Libyans, fearing what had befallen Egypt, gave themselves up without resistance ; and submitted to pay a tribute, and sent presents. In like manner the Cyrenæans and Barcæans, being equally alarmed with the Libyans, did as they had done. But Cambyses received very graciously the presents that came from the Libyans ; but was displeased with those of the Cyrenæans, as I suppose, because they were inconsiderable. For the Cyrenæans sent only five hundred minæ of silver, which he grasped and dispersed with his own hand among the soldiers. 14. On the tenth day after Cambyses had taken the citadel of Memphis, having seated Psammenitus, the king of the Egyptians, who had reigned only six months, at the entrance of the city, by way of insult, —having seated him with other Egyptians, he made trial of his courage by the following means. Having dressed his daughter in the habit of a slave, he sent her with a pitcher to fetch water ; and he sent with her other virgins selected from the principal families, dressed in the same manner as the king's daughter. As the virgins, with loud lamentation and weeping, came into the presence of their fathers, all the other fathers answered them with wailing and weeping, when they beheld their children thus humiliated. But Psammenitus alone, when he saw and knew what was going on, only bent his eyes to the ground. When these water-carriers had passed by, he next sent his son, with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, with halters about their necks, and a bridle in their mouths ; and they were led out to suffer retribution for those Mitylenæans who had perished at Memphis with the ship. For the royal judges had given sentence, that for each man ten of the principal Egyptians should be put to death. Yet he, when he saw them passing by, and knew that his son was being led out to death, though all the rest of the Egyptians who sat round him wept and made loud lamentations, did the same as he had done in his daughter's case. When these had passed by, it happened that one of his boon-companions, a man somewhat advanced in years, who had lost his all, and possessed nothing but such things as a beggar has, asking alms of the soldiery, passed by Psammenitus the son of Amasis, and the

Egyptians seated in the suburbs ; but Psammenitus, when he saw him, weeping bitterly, and calling his companion by name, smote his head. There were, however, spies there who communicated to Cambyses every thing that was done by him at each procession : but Cambyses, surprised at this behaviour, sent a messenger and inquired of him as follows : " Psammenitus, your master Cambyses inquires why, when you saw your daughter humiliated and your son led to execution, you did not bewail or lament ; and have been so highly concerned for a beggar, who is no way related to you, as he is informed." He then asked this question, but Psammenitus answered as follows : " Son of Cyrus, the calamities of my family are too great to be expressed by lamentation ; but the griefs of my friend were worthy of tears, who, having fallen from abundance and prosperity, has come to beggary on the threshold of old age." When this answer was brought back by the messenger, it appeared to Cambyses to be well said ; and, as the Egyptians relate, Cræsus wept, for he had attended Cambyses into Egypt, and the Persians that were present wept also ; and Cambyses himself was touched with pity, and gave immediate orders to preserve his son out of those who were to perish, and to remove him and bring him from the suburbs into his presence.

15. Those who were sent found the son no longer alive, having been the first that suffered ; but having removed Psammenitus himself they conducted him to Cambyses, with whom he afterwards lived, without experiencing any violence. And had it not been suspected³ that he was planning innovations, he would probably have recovered Egypt, so as to have the government intrusted to him. For the Persians are accustomed to honour the sons of kings, and even if they have revolted from them, nevertheless bestow the government upon their children ; that such is their custom may be proved from many other examples, and amongst them by that of Thanynyras, the son of Inarus the Libyan, who recovered the government which his father had ; and by that of Pausiris, son of Amyrtæus, for he also recovered his father's government : yet none ever did more mischief to the Persians than Inarus and Amyrtæus. But now Psammenitus, devising mischief, received his reward, for he was discovered inciting the Egyptians to revolt ; and when he was detected by Cambyses he

³ See Cary's Lexicon, v. Ἀπιστεύειν.

was compelled to drink the blood of a bull, and died immediately. Such then was his end.

16. Cambyzes proceeded from Memphis to the city of Sais, purposing to do what he did effect; for when he entered the palace of Amasis, he presently commanded the dead body of Amasis to be brought out of the sepulchre; and when this was done he gave orders to scourge it, to pull off the hair, to prick it, and to abuse it in every possible manner. But when they were wearied with this employment, (for the dead body, since it was embalmed, resisted, and did not at all fall in pieces,) Cambyzes gave orders to burn it, commanding what is impious. For the Persians consider fire to be a god; therefore to burn the dead is on no account allowed by either nation; not by the Persians, for the reason above-mentioned, for they say it is not right to offer to a god the dead body of a man; and by the Egyptians fire is held to be a living beast, and that it devours every thing it can lay hold of, and when it is glutted with food it expires with what it has consumed; therefore it is their law, on no account to give a dead body to wild beasts, and for that reason they embalm them, that they may not lie and be eaten by worms. Cambyzes, therefore, commanded a thing repugnant to the customs of both nations. However, as the Egyptians say, it was not Amasis that was thus treated, but some other Egyptian of the same stature as Amasis whom the Persians insulted, thinking they insulted Amasis. For they say, that Amasis, having been informed by an oracle of what should happen to him after death, in order to remedy the impending evil, buried the body of this very man who was scourged, near the door of his own sepulchre,⁴ and charged his son to deposit his own in the remotest part of the vault. Now, these commands of Amasis, touching his own burial, and this man, appear to me never to have been given, but the Egyptians falsely boast of them.

17. After this, Cambyzes planned three several expeditions; one against the Carthaginians, another against the Ammonians, and a third against the Macrobian Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya which lies upon the South Sea. And in forming his plans he determined to send a naval force against the Carthaginians, and against the Ammonians a detachment of his land forces; and against the Ethiopians, spies

⁴ See Book II. ch. 169.

in the first instance, who were to see the table of the sun, which was said to exist among the Ethiopians, and besides to explore other things, and to cover their design they were to carry presents to the king. 18. The table of the sun is said to be of the following description : there is a meadow in the suburbs filled with the cooked flesh of all sorts of quadrupeds ; in this the several magistrates of the city, for some purpose, place the flesh at night, and in the day-time whoever chooses comes and feasts on it. The inhabitants say that the earth itself, from time to time, produces these things. Such is the description given of what is called the table of the sun. 19. When Cambyses had determined to send the spies, he immediately sent to Elephantine for some of the Ichthyophagi, who understood the Ethiopian language ; and while they were fetching these, he commanded the naval force to sail against Carthage. But the Phœnicians refused to obey, for that they were bound by solemn oaths, and that they should act impiously if they made war against their own descendants. As the Phœnicians would not go, the rest were not fit for such an enterprise : thus, therefore, the Carthaginians escaped slavery at the hands of the Persians. For Cambyses did not think it right to employ force towards the Phœnicians, because they had voluntarily submitted to the Persians, and the whole naval force depended on them. The Cyprians too, having given themselves up to the Persians, joined the expedition against Egypt. 20. When the Ichthyophagi came to Cambyses from Elephantine, he despatched them to the Ethiopians, having instructed them what to say, carrying presents, consisting of a purple cloak, a golden necklace, bracelets, an alabaster box of ointment, and a cask of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyses sent, are said to be the tallest and handsomest of all men ; and they say that they have customs different from those of other nations, and especially the following, with regard to the regal power ; for they confer the sovereignty upon the man whom they consider to be of the largest stature, and to possess strength proportionable to his size.

21. When therefore the Ichthyophagi arrived among this people, they gave the presents to the king, and addressed him as follows : “Cambyses, king of the Persians, desirous of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us, bidding us

confer with you, and he presents you with these gifts, which are such as he himself most delights in." But the Ethiopian, knowing that they came as spies, spoke thus to them: "Neither has the king of the Persians sent you with presents to me, because he valued my alliance; nor do you speak the truth; for ye are come as spies of my kingdom. Nor is he a just man; for if he were just, he would not desire any other territory than his own; nor would he reduce people into servitude who have done him no injury. However, give him this bow, and say these words to him: 'The king of the Ethiopians advises the king of the Persians, when the Persians can thus easily draw a bow of this size, then to make war on the Macrobian Ethiopians with more numerous forces; but until that time let him thank the gods, who have not inspired the sons of the Ethiopians with a desire of adding another land to their own.'" 22. Having spoken thus and unstrung the bow, he delivered it to the comers. Then taking up the purple cloak, he asked what it was, and how made; and when the Ichthyophagi told him the truth respecting the purple, and the manner of dyeing, he said that the men are deceptive, and their garments are deceptive also. Next he inquired about the necklace and bracelets, and when the Ichthyophagi explained to him their use as ornaments, the king laughing, and supposing them to be fetters, said that they have stronger fetters than these. Thirdly, he inquired about the ointment; and when they told him about its composition and use, he made the same remark as he had on the cloak. But when he came to the wine, and inquired how it was made, being very much delighted with the draught, he further asked what food the king made use of, and what was the longest age to which a Persian lived. They answered, that he fed on bread, describing the nature of wheat; and that the longest period of the life of a Persian was eighty years. Upon this the Ethiopian said, that he was not at all surprised if men who fed on dung lived so few years; and they would not be able to live so many years, if they did not refresh themselves with this beverage, showing the wine to the Ichthyophagi: for in this *he admitted* they were surpassed by the Persians. 23. The Ichthyophagi inquiring in turn of the king concerning the life and diet of the Ethiopians, *he said*, that most of them attained to a hundred and twenty years,

and some even exceeded that term, and that their food was boiled flesh, and their drink milk. And when the spies expressed their astonishment at the number of years, he led them to a fountain, by washing in which they became more sleek, as if it had been of oil, and an odour proceeded from it as of violets. The water of this fountain, the spies said, is so weak, that nothing is able to float upon it, neither wood, nor such things as are lighter than wood; but every thing sinks to the bottom. If this water is truly such as it is said to be, it may be they are long-lived by reason of the abundant use of it. Leaving this fountain, he conducted them to the common prison, where all were fettered with golden chains; for among these Ethiopians brass is the most rare and precious of all metals. After having viewed the prison, they next visited that which is called the table of the sun. 24. After this, they visited last of all their sepulchres, which are said to be prepared from crystal in the following manner. When they have dried the body, either as the Egyptians do, or in some other way, they plaster it all over with gypsum, and paint it, making it as much as possible resemble real life; they then put round it a hollow column made of crystal, which they dig up in abundance, and is easily wrought. The body being in the middle of the column is plainly seen, nor does it emit an unpleasant smell, nor is it in any way offensive: and it is all visible⁵ as the body itself. The nearest relations keep the column in their houses for a year, offering to it the first-fruits of all, and performing sacrifices; after that time they carry it out and place it some where near the city.

25. The spies, having seen every thing, returned home; and when they had reported all that had passed, Cambyzes, being greatly enraged, immediately marched against the Ethiopians, without making any provision for the subsistence of his army, or once considering that he was going to carry his arms to the remotest parts of the world; but as a madman, and not in possession of his senses, as soon as he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, he set out on his march, ordering the Greeks who were present to stay behind, and taking with him all his land forces. When the army reached Thebes, he

⁵ The Egyptian mummies could only be seen in front, the back being covered by a box or coffin; the Ethiopian bodies could be seen all round, as the column of glass was transparent.

detached about fifty thousand men, and ordered them to reduce the Ammonians to slavery, and to burn the oracular temple of Jupiter, while he with the rest of his army marched against the Ethiopians. But before the army had passed over a fifth part of the way, all the provisions⁶ that they had were exhausted, and after the provisions, the beasts of burden were eaten and likewise failed. Now if Cambyses, when he learnt this, had altered his purpose, and had led back his army, even after his first error, he would have proved himself to be a wise man. But now, without any reflection, he still continued advancing. The soldiers, as long as they could gather any from the earth, supported life by eating herbs; but when they reached the sands, some of them had recourse to a horrid expedient, for taking one man in ten by lot, they devoured him: when Cambyses heard this, shocked at their eating one another, he abandoned his expedition against the Ethiopians, marched back and reached Thebes, after losing a great part from his army. From Thebes he went down to Memphis, and suffered the Greeks to sail away. Thus ended the expedition against the Ethiopians. 26. Those who had been sent on the expedition against the Ammonians, after having set out from Thebes, marched under the conduct of guides, and are known to have reached the city Oasis, which is inhabited by Samians, said to be of the Æschrionian tribe; and they are distant seven days' march from Thebes, across the sands. This country in the Greek language is called the Island of the Blessed. It is said then that the army reached this country; but afterwards none, except the Ammonians and those who have heard their report, are able to give any account of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians, nor returned back. But the Ammonians make the following report: when they had advanced from this Oasis towards them across the sands, and were about half-way between them and Oasis, as they were taking dinner, a strong and vehement south wind blew, and carrying with it heaps of sand, covered them over, and in this manner they disappeared. The Ammonians say that such was the fate of this army.

27. When Cambyses arrived at Memphis, Apis, whom the

⁶ The Greek is *σιτίων ἐχόμενα*. This expression is very common in Herodotus. So Book I. 120, τὰ τῶν ἀναιράτων ἐχόμενα, *dreams*. So also V. 44, and VIII. 142.

Greeks call Epaphus, appeared to the Egyptians; and when this manifestation took place, the Egyptians immediately put on their richest apparel, and kept festive holiday. Cambyses, seeing them thus occupied, and concluding that they made these rejoicings on account of his ill success, summoned the magistrates of Memphis; and when they came into his presence, he asked "why the Egyptians had done nothing of the kind when he was at Memphis before, but did so now, when he had returned with the loss of a great part of his army." They answered, that their god appeared to them, who was accustomed to manifest himself at distant intervals, and that when he did appear, then all the Egyptians were used to rejoice and keep a feast. Cambyses, having heard this, said they lied, and as liars he put them to death. 28. Having slain them, he next summoned the priests into his presence; and when the priests gave the same account, he said, that he would find out whether a god so tractable had come among the Egyptians; and having said this, he commanded the priests to bring Apis to him; they therefore went away to fetch him. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow incapable of conceiving another offspring; and the Egyptians say, that lightning descends upon the cow from heaven, and that from thence it brings forth Apis. This calf, which is called Apis, has the following marks: it is black, and has a square spot of white on the forehead; and on the back the figure of an eagle; and in the tail double hairs; and on the tongue a beetle. 29. When the priests brought Apis, Cambyses, like one almost out of his senses, drew his dagger, meaning to strike the belly of Apis, but hit the thigh; then falling into a fit of laughter, he said to the priests, "Ye blockheads, are there such gods as these, consisting of blood and flesh, and sensible of steel? This, truly, is a god worthy of the Egyptians. But you shall not mock me with impunity." Having spoken thus, he commanded those, whose business it was, to scourge the priests, and to kill all the Egyptians whom they should find feasting. Thus the festival of the Egyptians was put an end to, and the priests were punished. But Apis, being wounded in the thigh, lay and languished in the temple; and at length, when he had died of the wound, the priests buried him without the knowledge of Cambyses.

30. But Cambyses, as the Egyptians say, immediately became

mad in consequence of this atrocity; though indeed he was not of sound mind before. His first crime he committed against his brother Smerdis, who was born of the same father and mother; him he sent back from Egypt to Persia through envy, because he alone of all the Persians had drawn the bow, which the Ichthyophagi brought from the Ethiopian, within two fingers' breadth: of the other Persians no one was able to do this. After the departure of Smerdis for Persia, Cambyses saw the following vision in his sleep: he imagined that a messenger arrived from Persia and informed him that Smerdis was seated on the royal throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Upon this, fearing for himself, lest his brother should kill him, and reign, he sent Prexaspes, who was a man the most faithful to him of the Persians, to Persia, with orders to kill Smerdis. And he, having gone up to Susa, killed Smerdis; some say, when he had taken him out to hunt; but others, that he led him to the Red Sea and drowned him. 31. This they say was the first of the crimes of Cambyses: the second he committed against his sister, who had accompanied him into Egypt, and whom he married, and who was his sister by both parents. He married her in the following way: for before, the Persians were on no account accustomed to intermarry with their sisters. Cambyses became enamoured of one of his sisters, and then being desirous of making her his wife, because he purposed doing what was not customary, he summoned the royal judges, and asked them if there was any law permitting one who wished to marry his sister. The royal judges are men chosen from among Persians, *who continue in office* until they die, or are convicted of some injustice. They determine causes between the Persians, and are the interpreters of the ancient constitutions, and all questions are referred to them. When, therefore, Cambyses put the question, they gave an answer that was both just and safe; saying that they could find no law permitting a brother to marry his sister, but had discovered another law which permitted the king of Persia to do whatever he pleased. Thus they did not abrogate the law through fear of Cambyses; but that they might not lose their lives by upholding the law, they found out another that favoured his desire of marrying his sister. Thereupon, Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured, and shortly afterwards he had another sister. The

youngest of these, then, who followed him into Egypt, he put to death. 32. With respect to her death, as well as that of Smerdis, a twofold account is given. The Greeks say, that Cambyzes made the whelp of a lion fight with a young dog ; and that this wife was also looking on ; and that the dog being over-matched, another puppy of the same litter broke his chain, and came to his assistance, and thus the two dogs united got the better of the whelp. Cambyzes was delighted at the sight, but she, sitting by him, shed tears. Cambyzes observing this, asked her why she wept. She answered, that she wept seeing the puppy come to the assistance of his brother, remembering Smerdis, and knowing that there was no one to avenge him. The Greeks say, that for this speech she was put to death by Cambyzes. But the Egyptians say, that as they were sitting at table, his wife took a lettuce, and stripped off its leaves, and then asked her husband, "Whether the lettuce stripped of its leaves, or thick with foliage, was the handsomer : " he said, "When thick with foliage : " whereupon she remarked, "Then you have imitated this lettuce, in dismembering the house of Cyrus." Whereupon he, being enraged, kicked her when she was with child ; and she miscarried and died.

33. Thus madly did Cambyzes behave towards his own family ; whether on account of Apis, or from some other cause, from which, in many ways, misfortunes are wont to befall mankind. For Cambyzes is said, even from infancy, to have been afflicted with a certain severe malady, which some called the sacred disease.⁷ In that case, it was not at all surprising that, when his body was so diseased, his mind should not be sound. 34. And towards the other Persians he behaved madly in the following instances : for it is reported that he said to Prexaspes, whom he highly honoured, and whose office it was to bring messages to him, and whose son was cup-bearer to Cambyzes, and this is no trifling honour : he is reported to have spoken as follows : "Prexaspes, what sort of a man do the Persians think me ? and what remarks do they make about me ? " He answered, "Sir, you are highly extolled in every other respect, but they say you are too much addicted to wine." Prexaspes said this of the Persians, but the king, enraged, answered as follows : "Do the Persians

⁷ Epilepsy.

indeed say that, by being addicted to wine, I am beside myself, and am not in my senses ? then their former words were not true." For, on a former occasion, when the Persians and Croesus were sitting with him, Cambyses asked, what sort of a man he appeared to be in comparison with his father Cyrus ; they answered, that he was superior to his father, for that he held all that Cyrus possessed, and had acquired besides Egypt and the empire of the sea. Croesus, being present, not being pleased with this decision, spoke thus to Cambyses : "To me now, O son of Cyrus, you do not appear comparable to your father, for you have not yet such a son as he left behind him." Cambyses was delighted at hearing this, and commended the judgment of Croesus. 35. Therefore, remembering this, he said in anger to Prexaspes, "Observe now yourself, whether the Persians have spoken the truth, or whether they who say such things are not out of their senses : for if I shoot that son of yours who stands under the portico, and hit him in the heart, the Persians will appear to have said nothing to the purpose ; but if I miss, then say that the Persians have spoken truth, and that I am not of sound mind." Having said this, and bent his bow, he hit the boy ; and when the boy had fallen, he ordered them to open him and examine the wound ; and when the arrow was found in the heart, he said to the boy's father, laughing, "Prexaspes, it has been clearly shown to you that I am not mad, but that the Persians are out of their senses. Now tell me, did you ever see a man take so true an aim ?" But Prexaspes, perceiving him to be out of his mind, and being in fear for his own life, said, "Sir, I believe that a god himself could not have shot so well." At that time he committed such an atrocity ; and at another time, having, without any just cause, seized twelve Persians of the first rank, he had them buried alive up to the head.

36. While he was acting in this manner, Croesus the Lydian thought fit to admonish him in the following terms : "O king, do not yield entirely to your youthful impulses and anger, but possess and restrain yourself. It is a good thing to be provident, and wise to have forethought. You put men to death who are your own subjects, having seized them without any just cause ; and you slay their children. If you persist in such a course, beware lest the Persians revolt from

you. Your father Cyrus strictly charged me to admonish you, and suggest whatever I might discover for your good." He then manifested his good will, in giving this advice ; but Cambyes answered, "Do you presume to give me advice, you, who so wisely managed your own country ; and so well advised my father, when you persuaded him to pass the river Araxes, and advance against the Massagetæ, when they were willing to cross over into our territory ? You have first ruined yourself by badly governing your own country, and then ruined Cyrus, who was persuaded by your advice. But you shall have no reason to rejoice ; for I have long wanted to find a pretext against you." So saying, he took up his bow for the purpose of shooting him ; but Cræsus jumped up and ran out. Cambyes, when he was unable to shoot him, commanded his attendants to seize him, and put him to death. But the attendants, knowing his temper, concealed Cræsus for the following reason, that if Cambyes should repent, and inquire for Cræsus, they, by producing him, might receive rewards for preserving him alive ; or if he should not repent, or regret him, then they would put him to death. Not long afterwards Cambyes did regret Cræsus, and the attendants, knowing this, acquainted him that he was still living ; on which Cambyes said, "I am rejoiced that Cræsus is still alive ; they, however, who saved him, shall not escape with impunity, but I will have them put to death." And he made good his word.

37. He, then, committed many such mad actions, both against the Persians and his allies, while he staid at Memphis, both opening ancient sepulchres, and examining the dead bodies ; he also entered the temple of Vulcan, and derided the image, for the image of Vulcan is very like the Phœnician Pataici, which the Phœnicians place at the prows of their triremes. For the benefit of any one who has not seen them, I will describe them ; it is a representation of a pigmy. He likewise entered the temple of the Cabeiri, (into which it is unlawful for any one except the priest to enter,) and these images he burnt, after he had ridiculed them in various ways : these also are like that of Vulcan ; and they say that they are the sons of this latter. 38. It is then in every way clear to me that Cambyes was outrageously mad ; otherwise he would not have attempted to deride things sacred and established

customs. For if any one should propose to all men, to select the best institutions of all that exist, each, after considering them all, would choose their own ; so certain is it that each thinks his own institutions by far the best. It is not therefore probable, that any but a madman would make such things the subject of ridicule. That all men are of this mind respecting their own institutions, may be inferred from many and various proofs, and amongst them by the following. Darius having summoned some Greeks under his sway, who were present, asked them "for what sum they would feed upon the dead bodies of their parents." They answered, that they would not do it for any sum. Darius afterwards having summoned some of the Indians called Callatians, who are accustomed to eat their parents, asked them in the presence of the Greeks, and who were informed of what was said by an interpreter, "for what sum they would consent to burn their fathers when they die?" but they, making loud exclamations, begged he would speak words of good omen. Such then is the effect of custom : and Pindar appears to me to have said rightly, "That custom is the king of all men."

39. Whilst Cambyzes was invading Egypt, the Lacedæmonians made an expedition against Samos and Polycrates, the son of *Æaces*, who had made an insurrection and seized on Samos. At first, having divided the state into three parts, he shared it with his brothers *Pantagnotus* and *Syloson* ; but afterwards, having put one of them to death, and expelled *Syloson*, the younger, he held the whole of Samos ; and holding it, made a treaty of friendship with *Amasis* king of Egypt, sending presents, and receiving others from him in return. In a very short time the power of *Polycrates* increased, and was noised abroad throughout *Ionia* and the rest of Greece ; for wherever he turned his arms, every thing turned out prosperously. He had a hundred fifty-oared galleys, and a thousand archers. And he plundered all without distinction ; for he said that he gratified a friend more by restoring what he had seized, than by taking nothing at all. He accordingly took many of the islands, and many cities on the continent ; he moreover overcame in a sea-fight, and took prisoners, the *Lesbians*, who came to assist the *Milesians* with all their forces : these, being put in chains, dug the whole trench that surrounds the walls of Samos. 40. Some-

how the exceeding good fortune of Polycrates did not escape the notice of Amasis, but was the cause of uneasiness to him : and when his successes continued to increase, having written a letter in the following terms, he despatched it to Samos : “Amasis to Polycrates says thus : It is pleasant to hear of the successes of a friend and ally. But your too great good fortune does not please me, knowing, as I do, that the divinity is jealous. As for me, I would rather choose that both I and those for whom I am solicitous, should be partly successful in our undertakings, and partly suffer reverses ; and so pass life, meeting with vicissitudes of fortune, than being prosperous in all things. For I cannot remember that I ever heard of any man, who, having been constantly successful, did not at last utterly perish. Be advised therefore by me, and act thus with regard to your good fortune. Having considered what you can find that you value most, and the loss of which would most pain your soul ; this so cast away, that it may never more be seen of man : and if after this successes are not mingled interchangeably with reverses, again have recourse to the remedy I have suggested.” 41. Polycrates, having read this letter, and conceived that Amasis had given him good advice, inquired of himself by the loss of which of his valuables he should most afflict his soul ; and on inquiry, he discovered the following : he had a seal which he wore, set in gold, made of an emerald, and it was the workmanship of Theodorus, the son of Telecles, a Samian ; when therefore he had determined to cast this away, he did as follows. Having manned a fifty-oared galley, he went on board it, and then ordered to put out to sea ; and when he was a considerable distance from the island, he took off the seal, and in the sight of all on board, threw it into the sea. This done, he sailed back again ; and having reached his palace, he mourned it as a great misfortune. 42. But on the fifth or sixth day after this, the following circumstance occurred : a fisherman, having caught a large and beautiful fish, thought it a present worthy to be given to Polycrates ; he accordingly carried it to the gates, and said that he wished to be admitted to the presence of Polycrates ; and when this was granted, he presented the fish, and said, “O king, having caught this, I did not think it right to take it to market, although I get my living by hard labour ; but it seemed to me worthy of you and your em-

pire: I bring it therefore, and present it to you." He, pleased with these words, replied, "You have done well, and I give you double thanks for your speech and your present, and I invite you to supper." The fisherman, thinking a great deal of this, went away to his own home; but the servants, opening the fish, found the seal of Polycrates in its belly; and as soon as they had seen it, and taken it out, they carried it with great joy to Polycrates, and as they gave him the seal they acquainted him in what manner it had been found. But when it occurred to him that the event was superhuman, he wrote an account of what he had done, and of what had happened, and having written, he despatched the account to Egypt. 43. But Amasis, having read the letter that came from Polycrates, felt persuaded that it was impossible for man to rescue man from the fate that awaited him, and that Polycrates would not come to a good end, since he was fortunate in every thing, and even found what he had thrown away; having therefore sent a herald to Samos, he said that he must renounce his friendship. He did this for the following reason, lest if some dreadful and great calamity befel Polycrates, he might himself be grieved for him, as for a friend.

44. Against this Polycrates, then, who was so universally prosperous, the Lacedæmonians made war, at the solicitation of those Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete.⁸ Polycrates, having sent to Cambyses the son of Cyrus, as he was collecting an army for the invasion of Egypt, begged that he would send to him at Samos and demand some troops. When Cambyses heard this, he readily sent to Samos, requesting Polycrates to furnish a naval force to attend him in his invasion of Egypt. Whereupon he, having selected those citizens whom he most suspected of seditious designs, sent them away in forty galleys, enjoining Cambyses not to send them home again. 45. Now, some say that these Samians who were sent out by Polycrates never reached Egypt, but when they were off Carpathius, they conferred together and resolved to sail no farther. Others say, that having arrived in Egypt, and finding themselves watched, they made their escape from thence; and as they were sailing back to Samos, Polycrates met them with a fleet, and came to an en-

⁸ See chap. 59.

gement ; and they who were returning gained the victory and landed on the island, and there having fought on land, they were worsted, and so set sail for Lacedæmon. There are some who say that the party from Egypt conquered Polycrates ; in my opinion, giving an erroneous account : for there would have been no need for their calling in the Lacedæmonians, if they were themselves able to get the better of Polycrates. Besides, it is not at all probable that one who had a numerous body of foreign mercenaries, and of native archers, should be beaten by the Samians who returned, who were few in number. Moreover, Polycrates, having shut up together in the arsenals the children and wives of the citizens who were subject to him, had them ready to burn, together with the arsenals themselves, in case they should go over to those who were returning. 46. When the Samians, expelled by Polycrates, arrived at Sparta, having presented themselves before the magistrates, they made a long harangue, as people very much in earnest. But they, at this first audience, answered them, that they had forgotten the first part of their speech, and did not understand the last. After this, having presented themselves a second time, they brought a sack, and said nothing else than "the sack wants meal ;" but the Lacedæmonians replied, that the word "*sack*" was superfluous : it was, however, decreed that they should assist them. 47. Then the Lacedæmonians, having made preparations, set out with an army against Samos ; as the Samians say, requiting a former kindness, because they had formerly assisted them with some ships against the Messenians ; but as the Lacedæmonians say, they undertook this expedition, not so much for the purpose of assisting the Samians who entreated them, as from a desire to revenge the seizure of the bowl⁹ which they sent to Cræsus, and the corselet which Amasis king of Egypt had sent to them as a present ; for the Samians had robbed them of the corselet the year before they took the bowl. *This corselet* was made of linen, with many figures of animals inwrought, and adorned with gold and cotton-wool : and on this account each thread of the corselet makes it worthy of admiration ; for though it is fine, it contains three hundred and sixty threads, all distinct. Such another is that which Amasis dedicated to Minerva at Lindus.¹

⁹ See Book I. ch. 70.

¹ See Book II. ch. 182.

48. The Corinthians readily assisted in abetting the expedition against Samos; because an injury had been also done to them by the Samians in the age preceding this expedition, done about the same time as the seizure of the bowl. For Periander, son of Cypselus, had sent three hundred youths, of the noblest families of the Corcyræans, to Alyattes at Sardis, for the purpose of emasculation; but when the Corinthians who were conducting the youths touched at Samos, the Samians, having ascertained for what purpose they were being conducted to Sardis, first of all instructed the youths to touch the temple of Diana, and afterwards would not suffer the Corinthians to remove the suppliants from the sanctuary; and when the Corinthians denied the youths any sustenance, the Samians instituted a festival, which they still observe in the same way. For when night came on, as long as the youths continued suppliants, they instituted choruses of virgins and young men, and made a law that they should carry cakes of sesame and honey, in order that the Corcyræan youths might seize them and have food. This was continued until the Corinthians, who had charge of the youths, went away and left them; then the Samians sent home the youths to Corcyra. 49. Now if, after the death of Periander, the Corinthians had been on friendly terms with the Corcyræans, they would not have assisted in the expedition against Samos for the above-mentioned cause: but in fact, from the first colonization of the island, they have always been at variance with one another: for this reason, therefore, the Corinthians remembered their grudge against the Samians. But Periander had selected the sons of the Corcyræan nobles, and sent them to Sardis to be emasculated, in revenge of an insult offered him; for the Corcyræans had first committed an outrageous deed against him. 50. When Periander had killed his own wife Melissa, it happened that another calamity succeeded the former. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen, the other eighteen years of age. These their maternal grandfather, Procles, who was tyrant of Epidaurus, sent for, and treated affectionately, as was natural, they being the sons of his own daughter. But when he sent them home, as he escorted them on their way, he said, "Do you know, my sons, who killed your mother?" The elder of them took no notice of these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, when he heard it, was so grieved at hearing

this, that on his return at Corinth, he neither addressed his father, regarding him as the murderer of his mother, nor entered into conversation with him, nor answered a word to his questions. At last Periander, being exceedingly angry, drove him from the palace. 51. Having driven him out, he inquired of the elder one what their grandfather had said to them. He related to him how kindly he had received them; but he did not mention the words Procles said as he was escorting them, for he had paid no attention to them. But Periander affirmed that it was impossible but that he had suggested something to them; and he persevered in his inquiries, till the young man recovered his memory, and mentioned this also. Periander, reflecting on this, and resolving not to show any indulgence, sent a messenger to the persons by whom the son who was driven out was entertained, and forbade them to receive him in their houses. But he, when being driven out from one house he came to another, was driven from this also, since Periander threatened all that received him, and required them to expel him. Being thus driven about, he went to some other of his friends; and they, though in dread, yet received him as the son of Periander. 52. At last Periander made a proclamation, that whoever should either receive him in his house, or converse with him, should pay a sacred fine to Apollo, mentioning the amount. In consequence of this proclamation, therefore, no one would either converse with him, or receive him into their houses; besides he himself did not think it right to attempt what was forbidden, but persisting in his purpose strayed among the porticoes. On the fourth day Periander, seeing him reduced to a state of filth and starvation, felt compassion, and relaxing his anger approached him, and said, "My son, which of these is preferable, your present mode of life, or by accommodating yourself to your father's wishes, to succeed to the power and riches which I now possess? You, who are my son, and a prince of wealthy Corinth, have chosen a vagabond life, by opposing and showing anger towards him, whom, least of all, you ought so to treat. For if any calamity has occurred in our family on account of which you have conceived any suspicion of me, it has fallen upon me, and I bear the chief burden of it, inasmuch as I murdered her. Do you, therefore, having learnt how much better it is to be envied than pitied, and at the same time what it is to be angry with parents

and superiors, return to your home." With these words Periander endeavoured to restrain him. He, however, gave his father no other answer, but said, that he had made himself liable to pay the sacred fine to the god, by having spoken to him. Periander therefore perceiving that the distemper of his son was impracticable and invincible, put him on board a ship, and sent him out of his sight to Corcyra, for he was also master of that island. Periander having sent him away, made war on his father-in-law, Procles, as being the principal author of the present troubles; and he took Epidaurus, and took Procles himself and kept him prisoner. 53. But when, in lapse of time, Periander grew old, and became conscious that he was no longer able to superintend and manage public affairs, having sent to Corcyra, he recalled Lycophron to assume the government, for he did not perceive in his eldest son *any capacity for government*,² but he appeared to him dull of intellect. But Lycophron did not deign to give an answer to the bearer of the message. Nevertheless Periander, having a strong affection for the youth, next sent to him his sister, who was his own daughter, thinking she would be most likely to persuade him. On her arrival she thus addressed him: "Brother, would you that the government should pass to others, and that your father's family should be utterly destroyed, rather than yourself return and possess it? Come home, then, and cease to punish yourself. Obstinacy is a sorry possession: think not to cure one evil by another. Many have preferred equity to strict justice; and many, ere this, in seeking their mother's rights have lost their father's inheritance. A kingdom is an uncertain possession, and many are suitors for it. He is now old, and past the vigour of life. Do not give your own to others." Thus she, having been instructed by her father, said what was most likely to persuade him. But he in answer said, that he would never return to Corinth so long as he should hear his father was living. When she brought back this answer, Periander sent a third time by a herald *to say*, that he himself intended to go to Corcyra; and urged him to return to Corinth and become his successor in the kingdom. The son consenting to this proposal, Periander prepared to set out for Corcyra, and his son for Corinth; but

² After ἐνεώρα, τὸ εἶναι δυνατόν τὰ πράγματα διέπειν, must be supplied to complete the sentence.

the Corcyræans being informed of each particular, in order that Periander might not come to their country, killed the young man : and in return for this, Periander took vengeance on the Corcyræans.

54. The Lacedæmonians, arriving with a great armament, besieged Samos, and having attacked the fortifications, they had passed beyond the tower that faced the sea near the suburbs ; but afterwards, when Polycrates himself advanced with a large force, they were driven back. Immediately after, the auxiliaries and many of the Samians poured down from the upper tower, which stands on the ridge of the mountain ; and having withstood the Lacedæmonians for a short time, they fled back again, and the enemy pursued them with great slaughter.

55. Now, if all the Lacedæmonians who were present on that day had behaved as well as Archias and Lycopas, Samos would have been taken. For Archias and Lycopas alone rushing on with the Samians as they fled to the wall, and being shut out from retreat, died in the city of the Samians. Another Archias, the son of Samius, son of Archias, the third in descent from this Archias, I myself met with in Pitane, for he was of that tribe. He esteemed the Samians above all other strangers, and said, that the surname of Samian was given to his father, because he was son to that Archias who fell so gloriously at Samos ; and he said that he honoured the Samians, because his grandfather had been buried by them at the public charge. 56. The Lacedæmonians, after forty days had been spent in besieging Samos, finding their affairs were not at all advanced, returned to Peloponnesus ; though a groundless report has gone abroad, *for* it is said that Polycrates, having coined a large quantity of the country money in lead, had it gilt and gave it to them ; and that they, having received it, thereupon took their departure. This was the first expedition that the Lacedæmonian Dorians undertook against Asia.

57. Those of the Samians who had fomented the war against Polycrates, when the Lacedæmonians were about to abandon them, set sail for Siphnus, for they were in want of money. The affairs of the Siphnians were at that time in a flourishing condition, and they were the richest of all the islanders, having in the island gold and silver mines, so that from the tenth of the money accruing from thence, a treasure

is laid up at Delphi equal to the richest; and they used every year to divide the riches that accrued *from the mines*. When, therefore, they established this treasure, they consulted the oracle, whether their present prosperity should continue with them for a long time; but the Pythian answered as follows: "When the Prytaneum in Siphnus shall be white, and the market white-fronted, then there is need of a prudent man to guard against a wooden ambush and a crimson herald." The market and Prytaneum of the Siphnians were then adorned with Parian marble. 58. This response they were unable to comprehend, either then on the moment, or when the Samians arrived. For as soon as the Samians reached Siphnus, they sent one of their ships conveying ambassadors to the city. Formerly, all ships were painted red. And this it was that the Pythian forewarned the Siphnians, bidding them beware of a wooden ambush and a crimson herald. These ambassadors then, having arrived, requested the Siphnians to lend them ten talents; but when the Siphnians refused the loan, the Samians ravaged their territory. But the Siphnians having heard of it, came out to protect their property, and having engaged were beaten, and many of them were cut off from the city by the Samians; and they afterwards exacted from them a hundred talents. 59. From the Hermionians they received an island instead of money, Thyrea, near Peloponnesus, and gave it in charge to the Trœzenians; and they themselves founded Cydonia in Crete; though they did not sail thither for that purpose, but to expel the Zacynthians from the island. They continued in this settlement, and were prosperous for five years; so much so that these are the people who erected the sacred precincts that are now in Cydonia, and the temple of Dictynna. But in the sixth year the Æginetæ, having vanquished them in a sea-fight, reduced them to slavery, together with the Cretans; and they cut off the prows of their ships, which represented the figure of a boar, and dedicated them in the temple of Minerva, in Ægina. The Æginetæ did this on account of a grudge they bore the Samians; for former Samians, when Amphicrates reigned in Samos, having made war against Ægina, did the Æginetæ much mischief, and suffered in return. This, then, was the cause.

60. I have dwelt longer on the affairs of the Samians, because they have three works the greatest that have been ac-

complished by all the Greeks. The first is of a mountain, one hundred and fifty orgyæ in height ; in this is dug a tunnel, beginning from the base, with an opening at each side. The length of the excavation is seven stades, and the height and breadth eight feet each ; through the whole length of it is dug another excavation twenty cubits deep, and three feet broad, through which the water conveyed by pipes reaches the city, drawn from a copious fountain. The architect of this excavation was a Megarian, Eupalinus, son of Naustrophus. This, then, is one of the three. The second is a mound in the sea round the harbour, in depth about one hundred orgyæ ; and the length of the mound is more than two stades. The third work of theirs is a temple, the largest of all we have ever seen ; of this, the first architect was Rhœceus, son of Phileus, a native. On account of these things I have dwelt longer on the affairs of the Samians.

61. While Cambyses, son of Cyrus, tarried in Egypt, and was acting madly, two magi, who were brothers, revolted. One of these, Cambyses had left steward of his palace. He accordingly revolted, having been informed of the death of Smerdis, and that it was kept secret, and that there were few of the Persians who were acquainted with it, for the generality thought him still alive. Therefore, having formed the following design, he determined to make an attempt on the throne. He had a brother, who, I have said, joined him in the revolt, in person very like Smerdis, son of Cyrus, whom Cambyses, although he was his own brother, had put to death. The magus Patizithes, having persuaded this man that he would manage every thing for him, set him on the throne ; and having done this, he sent heralds in various directions, and particularly to Egypt, to proclaim to the army, that they must in future obey Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and not Cambyses. 62. The other heralds, therefore, made this proclamation ; and he, moreover, who was appointed to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Ecbatana in Syria, standing in the midst, proclaimed what had been ordered by the magus. Cambyses having heard this from the herald, and believing that he spoke the truth, and that he had himself been betrayed by Prexaspes, (for that he, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not done so,) looked towards Prexaspes, and said, "Prexaspes, hast thou thus performed the business I en-

joined thee?" But he answered, "Sir, it is not true that your brother Smerdis has revolted against you, nor that you can have any quarrel, great or small, with him. For I myself put your order in execution, and buried him with my own hands. If, however, the dead rise again, expect that Astyages the Mede will rise up against you. But if it is now as formerly, nothing new can spring up to you from him. It appears to me, however, that we should pursue the herald, and find out by inquiry from whom he comes to proclaim to us that we are to obey king Smerdis." 63. When Prexaspes had spoken thus, as the advice was approved by Cambyses, the herald was immediately pursued, and brought back. When he arrived, Prexaspes questioned him as follows: "Friend, since you say that you come as the messenger of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, now speak the truth, and depart in peace. Whether did Smerdis himself appear in person before you, and give these orders, or some one of his ministers?" He answered, "I have not so much as seen Smerdis, son of Cyrus, since king Cambyses marched for Egypt; but the magus whom Cambyses appointed steward of his palace gave me these orders, saying that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, was the person who charged me to deliver this message to you." Thus the man spoke without adding any untruth. But Cambyses said, "Prexaspes, you, like a faithful man, having executed your instructions, have escaped all blame: but what Persian can this be, who has revolted against me, usurping the name of Smerdis?" He replied, "I think I understand the whole matter, O king: the magi are the persons who have revolted against you, Patizithes, whom you left steward of the palace, and his brother Smerdis." 64. When Cambyses heard the name of Smerdis, the truth of this account and of the dream³ struck him: *for* he fancied in his sleep that some one announced to him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Perceiving, therefore, that he had destroyed his brother without a cause, he wept for Smerdis; and after he had lamented him, and bitterly deplored the whole calamity, he leapt upon his horse, resolving with all speed to march to Susa against the magus. But as he was leaping on his horse, the chape of his sword's scabbard fell off, and the blade, being laid bare, struck the

³ See chap. 30.

thigh ; being wounded in that part where he himself had formerly smitten the Egyptian god Apis. Cambyses, when he thought that he was mortally wounded, asked what was the name of the city. They said it was Ecbatana. And it had been before prophesied to him from the city of Buto, that he should end his life in Ecbatana. He therefore imagined he should die an old man in Ecbatana of Media, where all his treasures were ; but the oracle in truth meant, in Ecbatana of Syria. When he had thus been informed, on inquiry, of the name of the city, though smitten by his misfortune, as well that proceeding from the magus as from the wound, he returned to his right mind ; and comprehending the oracle, said, "Here it is fated that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, should die."

65. So much he said at that time ; but about twenty days after, having summoned the principal men of the Persians who were with him, he addressed them as follows : "I am constrained to disclose to you a matter, which above all others I desired to conceal. When I was in Egypt I saw a vision in my sleep, which I wish I had never seen. I thought that a messenger arrived from my palace and announced to me that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Fearing lest I should be deprived of my kingdom by my brother, I acted with more precipitation than wisdom ; for in truth it belongs not to human nature to avert what is destined to happen. But I foolishly sent Prexaspes to Susa to put Smerdis to death : since that crime was perpetrated I have lived in security, never considering whether, now that Smerdis was removed, some other mortal might not rise up against me. But utterly mistaking what was about to happen, I became a fratricide to no purpose, and am nevertheless deprived of my kingdom. For Smerdis the magus was the person whom the deity forewarned me in the vision would rise up against me. The deed, then, has been perpetrated by me ; consider, therefore, that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, is no more ; but the magi have possessed themselves of the throne, he whom I left steward of my palace and his brother Smerdis. Now, he, who of right should have revenged the indignity I suffer from the magi, has perished impiously by the hand of his nearest relation. Since, therefore, he is no more, in the next place, of the other injunctions that I have to lay upon you, O Persians, the most necessary is, to

let you know what I would have you do after my death. I therefore, in the name of the gods who protect the throne, charge you, and all of you, especially those of the Achæmenidæ who are present, never to permit the government to return into the hands of the Medes : and if they have possessed themselves of it by craft, by craft be it recovered by you ; or if they accomplish it by force, by force to the utmost win it back again. And if you do thus, may the earth bring forth her increase ; may your wives and your flocks be fruitful, and you remain for ever free. But if you do not win back, nor attempt to win back the sovereign power, I imprecate upon you the contrary of all these things : and moreover, may such an end befall every Persian as has befallen me." When Cambyses had spoken thus, he deplored his whole fortunes. 66. The Persians, when they saw their king weep, all rent the garments they had on, and gave themselves to abundant lamentation. But afterwards, when the bone became infected and the thigh mortified, it carried off Cambyses, son of Cyrus, after he had reigned in all seven years and five months, having never had any children, either male or female. Great incredulity stole over the Persians who were present, *as to the story* that the magi had possession of the government ; but they thought that Cambyses said what he did calumniously, respecting the death of Smerdis, in order that the whole Persian nation might be made hostile to him. They therefore believed that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, had risen up and seized the kingdom : Prexaspes, moreover, vehemently denied that he had killed Smerdis ; for it was not safe for him, now that Cambyses was dead, to own that he had killed the son of Cyrus with his own hand.

67. Accordingly, the magus, after the death of Cambyses, relying on his having the same name as Smerdis the son of Cyrus, reigned securely during the seven months that remained to complete the eighth year of Cambyses ; in which time he treated all his subjects with such beneficence, that at his death, all the people of Asia, except the Persians, regretted his loss. For the magus, having despatched messengers to every nation he ruled over, proclaimed a general exemption from military service and tribute for the space of three years : and he made this proclamation immediately on assuming the sovereignty. 68. But in the eighth month he was discovered

in the following maner. Otanes, son of Pharnaspēs, was by birth and fortune equal to the first of the Persians. This Otanes first suspected the magus not to be Smerdis the son of Cyrus, but the person who he really was; forming his conjecture from this circumstance, that he never went out of the citadel, and that he never summoned any of the principal men of Persia to his presence. Having conceived suspicion of him, he contrived the following artifice. Cambyzes had married his daughter, whose name was Phædyma; the magus therefore had her as his wife, and cohabited with her, as well as with all the rest of the wives of Cambyzes. Otanes therefore, sending to this daughter, inquired with what man she lay, whether with Smerdis son of Cyrus, or some other person: she sent back word to him, saying, that she did not know, for that she had never seen Smerdis son of Cyrus, nor knew who it was that cohabited with her. Otanes sent a second time, saying, "If you do not yourself know Smerdis son of Cyrus, then inquire of Atossa who this man is, with whom she as well as you cohabits, for she must of necessity know her own brother." To this his daughter replied, "I can neither have any conversation with Atossa, nor see any of the women who used to live with me; for as soon as this man, whoever he is, succeeded to the throne, he dispersed us all, assigning us separate apartments." 69. When Otanes heard this, the matter appeared much more plain; and he sent a third message to her in these words: "Daughter, it becomes you, being of noble birth, to undertake any peril that your father may require you to incur. For if this Smerdis is not the son of Cyrus, but the person whom I suspect, it is not fit that he, lying with you and possessing the empire of the Persians, should escape with impunity, but suffer the punishment due to his offences. Now therefore follow my directions: when he sleeps with you, and you know him to be sound asleep, touch his ears; and if you find he has ears, be assured that you cohabit with Smerdis son of Cyrus; but if he has none, with Smerdis the magus." To this message Phædyma answered, saying, "that she should incur very great danger by doing so; for if he had no ears, and she should be discovered touching him, she well knew that he would put her to death; nevertheless she would make the

attempt." She accordingly promised to accomplish this for her father. Now Cyrus, son of Cambyses, during his reign, had cut off the ears of this Smerdis, the magus, for some grave offence. This Phædyma, daughter of Otanes, therefore, determining to execute all that she had promised her father, when her turn came to approach the magus, (for in Persia the wives visit their husbands in regular succession,) went and slept with him : and when the magus was sound asleep, she felt for his ears, and perceiving without any difficulty that the man had no ears, as soon as it was day, she sent and made known to her father what the case was.

70. Thereupon Otanes, having taken with him Aspathines and Gobryas, who were the noblest of the Persians, and persons on whom he could best rely, related to them the whole affair : they too had themselves suspected that the case was so ; and when Otanes had adduced his reasons, they admitted *their force* ; and they agreed that each should associate with himself a Persian in whom he could place most reliance. Otanes accordingly introduced Intaphernes ; Gobryas, Megabyzus ; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. These six being associated, Darius son of Hystaspes arrived at Susa from Persia, where his father was governor. When therefore he arrived, the six Persians determined to admit Darius to the confederacy.

71. These seven having met, exchanged pledges with each other and conferred together. When it came to the turn of Darius to declare his opinion, he addressed them as follows : "I thought that I was the only person who knew that it was the magus who reigns, and that Smerdis son of Cyrus is dead ; and for this very reason I hastened hither in order to contrive the death of the magus. But since it proves that you also are acquainted with the fact, and not I only, it appears to me that we should act immediately, and not put it off ; for that would be of no advantage." Otanes said to this, "Son of Hystaspes, you are born of a noble father, and show yourself not at all inferior to him ; do not however so inconsiderately hasten this enterprise, but set about it with more caution : for we must increase our numbers, and then attempt it." Darius replied to this, "Be assured, ye men who are here present, if you adopt the plan proposed by Otanes, you will all miserably perish : for some one will discover it to the magus, consulting

his own private advantage : and indeed you ought to have carried out your project immediately, without communicating it to any one else ;⁴ but since you have thought fit to refer it to others, and ye have disclosed it to me, let us carry it out this very day, or be assured, that if this day passes over, no one shall be beforehand with me and become my accuser, but I myself will denounce you to the magus." 72. Otanes, seeing Darius so eager, replied, " Since you compel us to precipitate our enterprise, and will not permit us to defer it, come, do you tell us in what way we are to enter the palace and attack them ; for you yourself know, if not having seen them, yet surely by report, that guards are stationed at intervals ; and how shall we pass them ?" Darius answered Otanes, " There are many things that cannot be made clear by words, but may by action : and there are other things that seem practicable in description, but no signal effect proceeds from them. Be assured that the guards stationed there will not be at all difficult to pass by : for in the first place, seeing our rank, there is no one who will not allow us to pass, partly from respect, and partly from fear ; and in the next place, I have a most specious pretext by which we shall gain admission, for I will say that I am just arrived from Persia, and wish to report a message to the king from my father. For when a lie must be told, let it be told : for we all aim at the same ends, both they who tell lies, and they who keep to the truth. Some tell lies when, by persuading with falsehoods, they are likely to gain some advantage ; whilst others speak the truth, in order that, by the truth, they may acquire some advantage, and something further may be intrusted to them : thus by different processes we aim at the same end. But if nothing were likely to be gained, as well he who speaks truth would lie, and he who lies would speak truth. Whoever of the doorkeepers, therefore, shall willingly let us pass, shall be rewarded in due time ; but whoever offers to oppose us must instantly be treated as an enemy ; and when we have forced our passage, we must accomplish our work." 73. After this Gobryas said : " Friends, shall we ever have a better opportunity to recover the sovereign power, or if we shall be unable to do so, to die ?

⁴ More literally, " deliberating upon it by yourselves," or " having kept your own counsel."

seeing we who are Persians, are governed by a Medic magus, and one without ears. Those among you who were present with Cambyses when he lay sick, well remember the imprecations he uttered at the point of death against the Persians, if they should not attempt to repossess themselves of the sovereign power : we did not then believe his story, but thought that Cambyses spoke from ill-will. I therefore give my voice that we yield to Darius, and that on breaking up this conference we go no where else than direct to the magus." Thus spoke Gobryas, and all assented to his proposal.

74. Whilst they were deliberating on these things, the following events happened to take place. The magi, on consultation, determined to make Prexaspes their friend ; both because he had suffered grievous wrong from Cambyses, who shot his son dead with an arrow ; and because he alone of all the Persians knew of the death of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, having despatched him with his own hand ; and moreover, because Prexaspes was in high repute with the Persians. For these reasons, therefore, having sent for Prexaspes, they endeavoured to win his friendship, binding him by pledges and oaths, that he would keep to himself, and never divulge to any man, the cheat they had put upon the Persians, assuring him that they would give him every thing in abundance. When Prexaspes had promised that he would do as the magi persuaded him, they made a second proposal, saying, that they would assemble all the Persians under the walls of the palace, and desired that he would ascend a tower, and harangue them, *assuring them* that they were governed by Smerdis son of Cyrus, and by no one else. This they enjoined him, as being a man most trusted by the Persians, and as having frequently affirmed his belief, that Smerdis son of Cyrus was still living, and having utterly denied his murder. 75. When Prexaspes said that he was ready to do that also, the magi, having convoked the Persians, placed him on the top of a turret, and commanded him to harangue the people. But he purposely forgot what they desired him to say, and, beginning from Achæmenes, described the genealogy of Cyrus's family ; and afterwards, when he came down to him, he ended by telling them what great benefits Cyrus had done the Persians : and having gone through these, he declared the whole truth, saying, that he had before concealed it, as it was not safe for

him to tell what had happened ; but that in the present emergency, necessity constrained him to make it known. He accordingly told them that he, being compelled by Cambyzes, had put Smerdis, son of Cyrus, to death, and that the magi then reigned. After he had uttered many imprecations against the Persians, if they should not recover back the sovereign power, and punish the magi, he threw himself headlong from the tower. Thus died Prexaspes, a man highly esteemed during the course of his whole life.

76. The seven Persians, having resolved to attack the magi without delay, set out after they had offered prayers to the gods ; and while they were in the midst of their way they were informed of all that had occurred with respect to Prexaspes ; whereupon, standing aside out of the way, they again conferred together ; and some with Otanes strongly advised to defer the enterprise, and not to attempt it while affairs were in such a ferment ; but others, with Darius, *urged* to proceed at once, and to do what had been determined on, and on no account to defer it. While they were hotly disputing there appeared seven pairs of hawks pursuing two pairs of vultures, and plucking and tearing them. The seven, on seeing this, all approved the opinion of Darius, and forthwith proceeded to the palace, emboldened by the omen. 77. When they approached the gates, it happened as Darius had supposed : for the guards, out of respect for men of highest rank among the Persians, and not suspecting any such design on their part, let them pass by, moved *as they were* by divine impulse ; nor did any one question them. But when they reached the hall, they fell in with the eunuchs appointed to carry in messages, who inquired of them for what purpose they had come ; and at the same time that they questioned them they threatened the doorkeepers for permitting them to pass, and endeavoured to prevent the seven from proceeding any farther. But they, having exhorted each other, and drawn their daggers, stabbed all that opposed their passage on the spot, and then rushed to the men's apartment. 78. The magi happened to be both within at the time, and were consulting about the conduct of Prexaspes. When, therefore, they saw the eunuchs in confusion, and heard their outcry, they both hurried out, and when they perceived what was going on, put themselves on the defensive. One of them accordingly snatched up a bow, and the other

had recourse to a javelin, and thereupon the parties engaged with each other. The one who had taken up the bow, seeing his enemies were near and pressing upon them, found it of no use; but the other made resistance with his spear, and first wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and next Intaphernes in the eye; and Intaphernes lost his eye from the wound, but did not die. Thus one of the magi wounded those two; but the other, when he found his bow of no service, fled to a chamber adjoining the men's apartment, purposing to shut to the door, and two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, rushed in with him; and as Gobryas was grappling with the magus, Darius standing by was in perplexity, fearing lest he should strike Gobryas in the dark; but Gobryas, seeing that he stood by inactive, asked him why he did not use his hand; he answered, "Fearing for you, lest I should strike you." But Gobryas replied, "Drive your sword even through both of us." Darius obeying, made a thrust with his dagger, and by good fortune hit the magus.

79. Having slain the magi, and cut off their heads, they left the wounded of their own party there, as well on account of their exhaustion as to guard the acropolis; but the other five of them, carrying the heads of the magi, ran out with shouting and clamour, and then called upon the rest of the Persians, relating what they had done, and showing them the heads; and at the same time they slew every one of the magi that came in their way. The Persians, informed of what had been done by the seven, and of the fraud of the magi, determined themselves also to do the like; and having drawn their daggers, they slew every magus they could find; and if night coming on had not prevented, they would not have left a single magus alive. This day the Persians observe in common more than any other, and in it they celebrate a great festival, which they call "The slaughter of the magi." On that day no magus is allowed to be seen in public, but they shut themselves up in their own houses during the whole of that day.

80. When the tumult had subsided, and five days had elapsed, those who had risen up against the magi deliberated on the state of affairs; and speeches were made that are disbelieved by some of the Greeks, however they were made. Otanes advised that they should commit the government to the Per-

sians at large, speaking as follows : " It appears that no one of us should henceforward be a monarch, for it is neither agreeable nor good. For you know to what a pitch the insolence of Cambyses reached, and you have experienced the insolence of the magus. And indeed how can a monarchy be a well-constituted government, where one man is allowed to do whatever he pleases without control ? for if even the best of men were placed in such power, he would depart from his wonted thoughts. For insolence is engendered in him by the advantages that surround him, and envy is implanted in man from his birth, and having these two, he has every vice ; for puffed up by insolence he commits many nefarious actions, and others through envy. One would think that a man who holds sovereign power should be free from envy, since he possesses every advantage ; but the contrary to this takes place in his conduct towards the citizens, for he envies the best who continue to live, and delights in the worst men of the nation ; he very readily listens to calumny, and is the most inconsistent of all men ; for if you show him respect in moderation he is offended because he is not sufficiently honoured ; and if any one honours him very much he is offended as with a flatterer. But I proceed to relate what is most important. He changes the institutions of our ancestors, violates women, and puts men to death without trial. But a popular government bears the fairest name of all, equality of rights ; and secondly, is guilty of none of those excesses that a monarch is. *The magistrate* obtains his office by lot, and exercises it under responsibility, and refers all plans to the public. I therefore give my opinion, that we should do away with monarchy, and exalt the people, for in the many all things are found." Otanes accordingly advanced this opinion. 81. Megabyzus advised them to intrust the government to an oligarchy, and spoke as follows : " I concur with what Otanes has said about abolishing tyranny ; but in bidding us transfer the power to the people, he has erred from the best opinion ; for nothing is more foolish and insolent than a useless crowd, therefore it is on no account to be endured, that men, who are endeavouring to avoid the insolence of a tyrant, should fall under the insolence of an unrestrained multitude. The former, when he does any thing, does it knowingly, but the latter have not the means of knowing, for how should they know who have neither been taught, nor are ac-

quainted with any thing good or fitting ; they who, rushing on without reflection, precipitate affairs like a winter torrent. Let those, then, who desire the ruin of the Persians adopt a democracy ; but let us, having chosen an association of the best men, commit the sovereign power to them, for among them we ourselves shall be included, and it is reasonable to expect that the best counsels will proceed from the best men." Megabyzus accordingly advanced this opinion. 82. Darius expressed his opinion the third, saying : " In what Megabyzus has said concerning the people, he appears to me to have spoken rightly ; but concerning an oligarchy, not so. For if three forms are proposed, and each of these which I allude to the best in its kind, the best democracy, and oligarchy, and monarchy, I affirm that the last is far superior. For nothing can be found better than one man, who is the best ; since acting upon equally wise plans, he would govern the people without blame, and would keep his designs most secret from the ill-affected. But in an oligarchy, whilst many are exerting their energies for the public good, strong private enmities commonly spring up ; for each wishing to be chief, and to carry his own opinions, they come to deep animosities one against another, from whence seditions arise ; and from seditions, murder ; and from murder it results in monarchy : and thus it is proved how much this form of government is the best. But when the people rule, it is impossible but that evil should spring up ; when, therefore, evil springs up, mutual enmities do not arise among the bad, but powerful combinations, for they who injure the commonwealth act in concert ; and this lasts until some one of the people stands forward and puts them down ; and on this account he is admired by the people, and being admired, he becomes a monarch ; and in this he too shows that a monarchy is best. But to comprehend all in one word, whence came our freedom ? and who gave it ? was it from the people, or an oligarchy, or a monarch ? My opinion therefore is, that as we were made free by one man, we should maintain the same kind of government ; and moreover, that we should not subvert the institutions of our ancestors, seeing they are good ; for that were not well."

83. These three opinions were proposed, and four of the seven

adhered to the last. When the opinion of Otanes, who was anxious to introduce equality among the Persians, was overruled, he thus spoke in the midst of them : " Associates, since it is evident that some one of us must be made king, either appointed by lot, or by the body of the Persians, intrusting the government to whom they may choose, or by some other way ; now I will not enter into competition with you ; for I wish neither to govern nor be governed. But on this condition I give up all claim to the government, that neither I nor any of my posterity may be subject to any one of you." When he had said this, and the six had agreed to these terms, he did not join in the contest, but withdrew from the assembly ; and this family alone, of all the Persians, retains its liberty to this day, and yields obedience only so far as it pleases, but without transgressing the laws of the Persians. 84. The rest of the seven consulted how they might appoint a king on the most equitable terms ; and they determined that to Otanes and his posterity for ever, if the kingdom should devolve on any other of the seven, should be given a Median vest yearly, by way of distinction, together with all such presents as are accounted most honourable among the Persians. They decreed that these things should be given him for this reason, because he first advised the enterprise, and associated them together. These honours were conferred on Otanes by way of distinction. And they made the following resolutions with regard to the whole body : that every one of the seven should have liberty to enter into the palace without being introduced, unless the king should happen to be in bed with one of his wives ; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a wife out of any other family than of the conspirators. With regard to the kingdom, they came to the following determination, that he whose horse should first neigh in the suburbs at sunrise, while they were mounted, should have the kingdom.

85. Darius had a groom, a shrewd man, whose name was Cebares ; to this person, when the assembly had broken up, Darius spoke as follows : " Cebares, we have determined with respect to the kingdom to do in this manner ; he whose horse shall neigh first at sunrise, when we ourselves are mounted, is to have the kingdom. Now, therefore, if you have any

ingenuity, contrive that I may obtain this honour, and not another." Cebares answered, "If, sir, it indeed depends on this, whether you shall be king or not, be confident on this point, and keep up your spirits ; for no one else shall be king before you ; I have a charm for the occasion." Darius said, "If you have any such contrivance, it is time to put it in practice, and not to delay ; for to-morrow our trial is to be." Cebares having heard this, did as follows : as soon as it was night, he led the mare which Darius's horse was most fond of, to the suburbs, tied her up, and led Darius's horse to her ; and he led him several times round near the mare, gradually bringing him nearer, and at last let the horse cover her. 86. At dawn of day, the six, as they had agreed, met together on horseback ; and as they were riding round the suburbs, when they came to the spot where the mare had been tied the preceding night, Darius's horse ran forward and neighed ; and as the horse did this, lightning and thunder came from a clear sky. These things happening to Darius, consummated the auspices, as if done by appointment. The others, dismounting from their horses, did obeisance to Darius as king. 87. Some say that Cebares had recourse to the foregoing artifice ; others, to the following ; (for the story is told both ways by the Persians ;) that having rubbed his hand upon the genital part of the mare, he kept it concealed under his trowsers, and at sun-rise, when the horses were about to start, Cebares drew out his hand and put it to the nostrils of Darius's horse, and that he, taking the scent, began to snort and neigh.

88. Accordingly Darius, son of Hystaspes, was declared king, and all the people of Asia, except the Arabians, were subject to him, Cyrus having first subdued them, and afterwards Cambyses. The Arabians never submitted to the Persian yoke, but were on friendly terms, and gave Cambyses a free passage into Egypt ; for without the consent of the Arabians the Persians could not have penetrated into Egypt. Darius contracted his first marriages with Persians ; he married two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystona : Atossa had been before married to her brother Cambyses, and afterwards to the magus, but Artystona was a virgin. He married another also, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, whose name was Parmys ; and he had besides the

daughter of Otanes who detected the magus. His power was fully established on all sides. Having then first of all made a stone statue, he had it erected ; and a figure was upon it *representing* a man on horseback ; and he had engraved on it the following inscription, DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES, BY THE SAGACITY OF HIS HORSE, (here mentioning the name,) AND BY THE ADDRESS OF CEBARES, HIS GROOM, OBTAINED THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS. 89. Having done this in Persia, he constituted twenty governments, which they call satrapies ; and having constituted the governments and set governors over them, he appointed tributes to be paid to him from each nation, both connecting the adjoining people with the several nations, and omitting some neighbouring people, he annexed to some others that were more remote. He distributed the governments, and the annual payment of tribute, in the following manner. Such of them as contributed silver, were required to pay it according to the standard of the Babylonian talent ; and such as contributed gold, according to the Euboic talent. The Babylonian talent is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and afterwards of Cambyses, there was no fixed regulation with regard to tribute, but they brought in presents. In consequence of this imposition of tribute, and other things of a similar kind, the Persians say Darius was a trader, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father. The first, because he made profit of every thing ; the second, because he was severe and arrogant ; the latter, because he was mild, and always aimed at the good of his people. 90. From the Ionians, the Magnesians in Asia,⁵ the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyens, and Pamphylians, for one and the same tribute was imposed on them all, there came in a revenue of four hundred talents in silver ; this then composed the first division. From the Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians, five hundred talents ; this was the second division. From the Hellespontians, who dwell on the right as one sails in, the Phrygians, the Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians, there was a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents ; this was the third division. From the Cilicians, three hundred and sixty white horses, one for every day, and five hundred

⁵ There were also Magnesians in Thessaly. See Book VII. ch. 183.

talents of silver ; of these a hundred and forty were expended on the cavalry that guarded the Cilician territory, and the remaining three hundred and sixty went to Darius ; this was the fourth division. 91. From the city of Poseideium, which Amphiloehus, son of Amphiaraus, founded on the confines of the Cilicians and Syrians, beginning from this down to Egypt, except a district belonging to Arabians, which was exempt from taxation, was paid a tribute of three hundred and fifty talents ; and in this division is *included* all Phœnicia, Syria which is called Palæstine, and Cyprus ; this was the fifth division. From Egypt, and the Libyans bordering on Egypt, and from Cyrene and Barce, (for these were annexed to the Egyptian division,) accrued seven hundred talents, besides the revenue arising from lake Mœris, which was derived from the fish : in addition, then, to this money, and the fixed supply of corn, there accrued seven hundred talents ; for they furnish in addition 120,000 measures of corn for the Persians who occupy the white fortress at Memphis, and their allies : this was the sixth division. The Sattagy-dæ, Gandarians, Dadicæ, and Aparytæ, joined together, contributed one hundred and seventy talents ; this was the seventh division. From Susa, and the rest of the country of the Cissians, three hundred talents ; this was the eighth division. 92. From Babylon and the rest of Assyria, there accrued to him a thousand talents of silver, and five hundred young eunuchs ; this was the ninth division. From Ecbatana and the rest of Media, and the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes, four hundred and fifty talents ; this was the tenth division. The Caspians, Pausicæ, Pantimathians, and Daritæ, contributing together, paid two hundred talents ; this was the eleventh division. From the Bactrians as far as the Æglæ, was a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents ; this was the twelfth division. 93. From Pactyica, and the Armenians, and the neighbouring people as far as the Euxine Sea, four hundred talents ; this was the thirteenth division. From the Sagartians, Sarangeans, Thamanæans, Utians, Mycians, and those who inhabit the islands on the Red Sea, in which the king settles transported convicts ; from all these came a tribute of six hundred talents ; this was the fourteenth division. The Sacæ and Caspians paid two hundred and fifty talents ; this was the fifteenth division. The Parthians, Chorasmians,

Sogdians, and Arians, three hundred talents; this was the sixteenth division. 94. The Paricanians and Asiatic Ethiopians paid four hundred talents; this was the seventeenth division. The Matienians, Saspies, and Alarodians, were taxed at two hundred talents; this was the eighteenth division. From the Moschians, Tibarenians, Macronians, Mosynœcians, and Marsians three hundred talents were demanded; this was the nineteenth division. Of the Indians the population is by far the greatest of all nations whom we know of, and they paid a tribute proportionably larger than all the rest, three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust; this was the twentieth division. 95. Now the Babylonian standard, compared with the Euboic talent, makes the total nine thousand five hundred and forty talents; and the gold estimated at thirteen times the value of silver, the gold dust will be found to amount to four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents. Therefore, if the total of all these are computed together, fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents were collected by Darius as an annual tribute; and passing over less sums than these, I do not mention them. 96. This tribute accrued to Darius from Asia, and a small part of Libya; but in the course of time another tribute accrued from the islands, and the inhabitants of Europe as far as Thessaly. This tribute the king treasures up in the following manner: having melted it, he pours it into earthen jars, and having filled it he takes away the earthen mould; and when he wants money he cuts off so much as he has occasion for from time to time.

97. These, then, were the governments and the imposts on each. The Persian territory alone has not been mentioned as subject to tribute; for the Persians occupy their land free from taxes. They indeed were not ordered to pay any tribute, but brought gifts. The Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued when he marched against the Macrobian Ethiopians, and who dwell about the sacred city of Nysa, and celebrate festivals of Bacchus,—these Ethiopians, and their neighbours, use the same grain as the Calantian Indians, and live in subterraneous dwellings;—both these bring every third year, and they continued to do so to my time, two chœnices of unmolten gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty large elephants' tusks. The Colchians numbered themselves among those who gave presents,

as well as the neighbouring nations, as far as Mount Caucasus ; for to this mountain the dominions of Persia extend. But the people to the north side of the Caucasus pay no regard to the Persians. These, then, for the gifts they imposed on themselves, furnished, even to my time, every five years one hundred boys, and one hundred virgins. The Arabians also furnished every year a thousand talents of frankincense. These, then, brought to the king the above gifts besides the tribute.

98. The Indians obtain the great quantity of gold, from which they supply the before-mentioned dust to the king, in the manner presently described. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand ; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, and of whom any thing certain is told, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sun-rise of all the inhabitants of Asia ; for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert, by reason of the sands. There are many nations of Indians, and they do not speak the same language as each other ; some of them are nomades, and others not. Some inhabit the marshes of the river, and feed on raw fish, which they take going out in boats made of reeds ; one joint of the reed makes a boat. These Indians wear a garment made of rushes, which, when they have cut the reed from the river and beaten it, they afterwards plait like a mat and wear it as a corselet. 99. Other Indians, living to the east of these, are nomades, and eat raw flesh ; they are called Padæans. They are said to use the following customs. When any one of the community is sick, whether it be a woman or a man, if it be a man the men who are his nearest connexions put him to death, alleging that if he wasted by disease his flesh would be spoilt ; but if he denies that he is sick, they, not agreeing with him, kill and feast upon him. And if a woman be sick, in like manner the women who are most intimate with her do the same as the men. And whoever reaches to old age, they sacrifice and feast upon ; but few among them attain to this state, for before that, they put to death every one that falls into any distemper. 100. Other Indians have the following different custom ; they neither kill any thing that has life, nor sow any thing, nor are they wont to have houses, but they live upon herbs, and they have a grain of the size of millet in a pod, which springs spontaneously from the earth, this they

gather, and boil it and eat it with the pod. When any one of them falls into any disorder, he goes and lies down in the desert, and no one takes any thought about him, whether dead or sick. 101. The intercourse of all these Indians whom I have mentioned takes place openly as with cattle ; and all have a complexion closely resembling the Ethiopians. The seed they emit is not white, as that of other men, but black as their skin ; the Ethiopians also emit similar seed. These Indians are situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and were never subject to Darius.

102. There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica, settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of the Indians, and these are they who are sent to procure the gold ; for near this part is a desert by reason of the sand. In this desert then, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes. Some of them are in the possession of the king of the Persians, which were taken there. These ants, forming their habitations under ground, heap up the sand, as the ants in Greece do, and in the same manner ; and they are very like them in shape. The sand that is heaped up is mixed with gold. The Indians therefore go to the desert to get this sand, each man having three camels, on either side a male one harnessed to draw by the side, and a female in the middle, this last the man mounts himself, having taken care to yoke one that has been separated from her young as recently born as possible ; for camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness, and are much better able to carry burdens. 103. What kind of figure the camel has I shall not describe to the Greeks, as they are acquainted with it ; but what is not known respecting it I will mention. A camel has four thighs and four knees in his hinder legs, and his private parts are turned between the hinder legs to the tail. 104. The Indians then, adopting such a plan and such a method of harnessing, set out for the gold, having before calculated the time, so as to be engaged in their plunder during the hottest part of the day, for during the heat the ants bide themselves under ground. Amongst these people the sun is hottest in the morning, and not, as amongst others, at mid-day, from the time that it has risen some way, to the break-

ing up of the market ; during this time it scorches much more than at mid-day in Greece ; so that, it is said, they then refresh themselves in water. Mid-day scorches other men much the same as the Indians ; but as the day declines, the sun becomes to them as it is in the morning to others ; and after this, as it proceeds it becomes still colder, until sun-set, then it is very cold. 105. When the Indians arrive at the spot, having sacks with them, they fill these with the sand, and return with all possible expedition. For the ants, as the Persians say, immediately discovering them by the smell, pursue them, and they are equalled in swiftness by no other animal, so that if the Indians did not get the start of them while the ants were assembling, not a man of them could be saved. Now the male camels (for they are inferior in speed to the females) slacken their pace, dragging on,⁶ not both equally ; but the females, mindful of the young they have left, do not slacken their pace. Thus the Indians, as the Persians say, obtain the greatest part of their gold ; and they have some small quantity more that is dug in the country.

106. The extreme parts of the inhabited world somehow possess the most excellent products ; as Greece enjoys by far the best tempered climate. For in the first place, India is the farthest part of the inhabited world towards the east, as I have just observed : in this part then all animals, both quadrupeds and birds, are much larger than they are in other countries, with the exception of horses ; in this respect they are surpassed by the Medic breed called the Nysæan horses. In the next place, there is abundance of gold there, partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers, and partly seized in the manner I have described. And certain wild trees there bear wool instead of fruit, that in beauty and quality excels that of sheep ; and the Indians make their clothing from these trees. 107. Again, Arabia is the farthest of inhabited countries towards the south ; and this is the only region in which grow frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum. All these, except myrrh, the Arabians gather with difficulty. The frankincense they gather by burning styrax, which the Phœnicians import into Greece ; they take it by burning this ; for winged serpents, small in size, and various

⁶ For the various modes of translating this difficult passage, see *Baehr's Note*, or *Cary's Lexicon*.

in form, guard the trees that bear frankincense, a great number round each tree. These are the same serpents that invade Egypt.⁷ They are driven from the trees by nothing else but the smoke of the styrax. 108. The Arabians say this also, that the whole land would be filled by these serpents, if some such thing did not take place with regard to them, as I know happens to vipers. And the providence of God, as was likely, proves itself wise: whatever creatures are timid, and fit for food, have been made very prolific, lest the species should be destroyed by constant consumption; but such as are savage and noxious, unprolific. For instance, the hare, which is hunted by all, beasts, birds, and men, is so prolific that it alone of all beasts conceives to superfetation, having in its womb some of its young covered with down, others bare, others just formed, and at the same time conceives again. Such then is the case. Whereas a lioness, which is the strongest and fiercest of beasts, bears only one once in her life; for in bringing forth she ejects her matrix with the whelp; and this is the cause: when the whelp begins to move in the womb, he, having claws, much sharper than those of any other beast, lacerates the womb; and as he increases in strength, he continues tearing it much more; and when the birth approaches, not a single part of it remains sound. 109. So also if vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia multiplied as fast as their nature admits, men could not possibly live. But now when they couple together, and the male is in the very act of impregnating, as he emits the seed, the female seizes him by the neck, and clinging to him, never lets him go until she has gnawed through him. In this manner the male dies, and the female pays the following retribution to the male: the offspring, while yet in the womb, avenging their father, eat through the matrix; and having gnawed through her bowels, thus make their entrance into the world. But other serpents, which are not hurtful to men, lay eggs, and hatch a vast number of young. Now vipers are found in all parts of the world; but flying serpents are abundant in Arabia, and no where else, there they appear to be very numerous.

110. The Arabians obtain the frankincense in the manner I have described; and the cassia as follows: when they have covered their whole body and face, except the eyes, with hides

⁷ See Book II. chap. 75.

and other skins, they go to the cassia ; it grows in a shallow lake ; and around the lake and in it lodge winged animals, very like bats, and they screech fearfully, and are exceedingly fierce. These they keep off from their eyes, and so gather the cassia. 111. The cinnamon they collect in a still more wonderful manner. Where it grows and what land produces it, they are unable to tell ; except that some, giving a probable account, say that it grows in those countries in which Bacchus was nursed. And they say that large birds bring those rolls of bark, which we, from the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, the birds bring them for their nests, which are built with clay, against precipitous mountains, where there is no access for man. The Arabians, to surmount this difficulty, have invented the following artifice : having cut up into large pieces the limbs of dead oxen, and asses, and other beasts of burden, they carry them to these spots, and having laid them near the nests, they retire to a distance. But the birds flying down carry up the limbs of the beasts to their nests, which not being strong enough to support the weight, break and fall to the ground. Then the men, coming up, in this manner gather the cinnamon, and being gathered by them it reaches other countries. 112. But the ledanum, which the Arabians call ladanum, is still more wonderful than this ; for though it comes from a most stinking place, it is itself most fragrant. For it is found sticking like gum to the beards of he-goats, *which collect it* from the wood. It is useful for many ointments, and the Arabians burn it very generally as a perfume. 113. It may suffice to have said thus much of these perfumes ; and there breathes from Arabia, as it were, a divine odour. They have two kinds of sheep worthy of admiration, which are seen no where else. One kind has large tails, not less than three cubits in length, which, if suffered to trail, would ulcerate, by the tails rubbing on the ground. But every shepherd knows enough of the carpenter's art *to prevent this*, for they make little carts and fasten them under the tails, binding the tail of each separate sheep to a separate cart. The other kind of sheep have broad tails, even to a cubit in breadth. 114. Where the meridian declines⁸ towards the setting sun, the Ethiopian territory reaches, being the extreme part of the habitable world. It produces much gold, huge elephants, wild

⁸ That is, " south-west."

trees of all kinds, ebony, and men of large stature, very handsome, and long-lived.

115. These, then, are the extremities of Asia and Libya. Concerning the western extremities of Europe I am unable to speak with certainty, for I do not admit that there is a river, called by barbarians Eridanus, which discharges itself into the sea towards the north, from which amber is said to come; nor am I acquainted with the Cassiterides islands, from whence our tin comes. For in the first place, the name Eridanus shows that it is Grecian and not barbarian, and feigned by some poet; in the next place, though I have diligently inquired, I have never been able to hear from any man who has himself seen it, that there is a sea on that side of Europe. However, both tin and amber come to us from the remotest parts.

116. Towards the north of Europe there is evidently a very great quantity of gold, but how procured I am unable to say with certainty; though it is said that the Arimaspians, a one-eyed people, steal it from the griffins. Neither do I believe this, that men are born with one eye, and yet in other respects resemble the rest of mankind. However, the extremities of the world seem to surround and enclose the rest of the earth, and to possess those productions which we account most excellent and rare.

117. There is a plain in Asia shut in on every side by a range of mountains, and there are five defiles in the mountain. This plain formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, situated on the confines of these Chorasmians, of the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thamanæans; but since the Persians have had the empire it belongs to the king. From this range of mountains then, that shuts in this plain, there flows a great river, the name of which is Aces; it formerly, being divided into five several channels, used to irrigate the lands of the nations before mentioned, being conducted to each nation through each separate defile. But since they have become subject to the Persian, they have suffered the following calamity. The king, having caused the clefts of the mountains to be blocked up, placed gates at each cleft, and the passage of the water being stopped, the plain within the mountains has become a sea, as the river continued to pour in, and had no where any exit. The people, therefore, who before were in the habit of using the water, not being able to use it any longer, were reduced to

great extremities ; for though in winter heaven supplies them with rain, as it does other men, yet in summer, when they sow millet and sesame, they stood in need of water. When, therefore, no water was allowed them, they and their wives going to the Persians, and standing before the king's palace, raised a great outcry. But the king gave order that the gates should be open towards those lands that were most in need ; and when their land was satiated by imbibing water, these gates were shut, and he ordered others to be opened to those who were next in greatest need. And as I have been informed, he opens them after he has exacted large sums of money, in addition to the tribute. Now these things are so.

118. Of the seven men that conspired against the magus, it happened that one of them, Intaphernes, having committed the following act of insolence, lost his life shortly after the revolution. He wished to enter the palace in order to confer with Darius ; for the law was so settled among those who had conspired against the magus, that they should have access to the king without a messenger, unless the king should happen to be in bed with one of his wives. Intaphernes, therefore, determined that no one should announce him ; but, because he was one of the seven, chose to enter ; the door-keeper, however, and the messenger, would not let him pass, saying, that the king was then in bed with one of his wives : but Intaphernes, suspecting they told a falsehood, did as follows : having drawn his scimeter, he cut off their ears and noses, and having strung them to the bridle of his horse, he hung them round their necks, and so dismissed them. 119. They presented themselves to the king, and told him the cause for which they had been so treated. Darius, fearing lest the six had done this in concert, sent for them, one by one, and endeavoured to discover their opinions, whether they approved of what had been done. But when he discovered that Intaphernes had not done this with their privity, he seized Intaphernes himself, and his children, and all his family, having many reasons to suspect that he, with his relations, would raise a rebellion against him. And having seized them, he bound them as for death : but the wife of Intaphernes, going to the gates of the palace, wept and lamented aloud ; and having done this continually, she prevailed on Darius to have compassion on her. He therefore, having sent a messenger, spoke

as follows : “ Madam, king Darius allows you to release one of your relations who are now in prison, whichever of them all you please.” But she, having deliberated, answered as follows : “ Since the king grants me the life of one, I choose my brother from them all.” Darius, when he heard this, wondering at her choice, having sent again, asked, “ Madam, the king inquires the reason why, leaving your husband and children, you have chosen that your brother should survive ; who is not so near related to you as your children, and less endeared to you than your husband ?” She answered as follows : “ O king, I may have another husband if God will, and other children if I lose these ; but as my father and mother are no longer alive, I cannot by any means have another brother ; for this reason I spoke as I did.” The woman appeared to Darius to have spoken well, and he granted to her the one whom she asked, and her eldest son, he was so pleased with her : all the rest he put to death. Of the seven, therefore, one very soon perished in the manner now mentioned.

120. Near about the time of Cambyzes’ illness, the following events took place. Orœtes, a Persian, had been appointed governor of Sardis by Cyrus ; this man conceived an impious project ; for without having sustained any injury, or heard a hasty word from Polycrates the Samian, and without having seen him before, he conceived the design of seizing him and putting him to death ; as most people say, for some such cause as this. Orœtes and another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of the district of Dascylium, were sitting together at the palace gates, and fell into a dispute. As they were quarrelling about valour, Mitrobates said to Orœtes tauntingly : “ Are you to be reckoned a brave man, who have not yet acquired for the king the island of Samos, that lies near your government, and is so easy to be subdued ? which one of its own inhabitants, having made an insurrection with fifteen armed men, obtained possession of, and now reigns over ?” Some say, that he, having heard this, and being stung with the reproach, conceived a desire, not so much to revenge himself on the man who said it, as of utterly destroying Polycrates, on whose account he had been reproached.

121. A fewer number say, that Orœtes sent a herald to Samos, to make some demand which is not mentioned, and that Polycrates happened to be reclining in the men’s apartment, and

that Anacreon of Teos was with him ; and somehow, (whether designedly disregarding the business of Orætes, or by chance it so happened,) when the herald of Orætes came forward and delivered his message, Polycrates, as his face chanced to be turned towards the wall, neither turned about, nor made any answer. 122. These twofold causes are assigned for the death of Polycrates ; every man may give credit to whichever he pleases. However, Orætes, who resided in Magnesia, situated on the river Mæander, being acquainted with the intentions of Polycrates, sent Myrsus a Lydian, son of Gyges, with a message to Samos ; for Polycrates is the first of the Grecians of whom we know, who formed a design to make himself master of the sea, except Minos the Cnossian, or any other, who before his time obtained the empire of the sea : but within what is called the historical⁹ age, Polycrates is the first who had entertained great expectations of ruling Ionia and the islands. Orætes therefore, having ascertained that he had formed this design, sent a message to the following effect : "ORÆTES TO POLYCRATES SAYS AS FOLLOWS : I understand that you are planning vast enterprises, and that you have not money answerable to your projects. Now, if you will do as I advise, you will promote your own success, and preserve me ; for king Cambyzes meditates my death, and of this I have certain information. Now, do you convey me and my wealth out of the country, and take part of it, and suffer me to enjoy the rest : by means of the wealth, you will become master of all Greece. If you doubt what I say concerning my riches, send to me the most trusty of your servants, to whom I will show them." 123. Polycrates, having heard this, was delighted, and accepted the offer ; and as he was very eager for wealth, he first sent Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, to view it, a citizen who was his secretary : he not long after dedicated to the temple of Juno all the ornamental furniture from the men's apartment of Polycrates, which was indeed magnificent. Orætes, having learnt that an inspector might be expected, did as follows : having filled eight chests with stones, except a very small space round the brim, he put gold on the surface of the stones, and having made the chests fast with cords, he kept them in readiness. But Mæandrius, having come

⁹ In opposition to "the fabulous."

and inspected *the chests*, took back a report to Polycrates. 124. He, though earnestly dissuaded by the oracles and by his friends, resolved to go in person ; and moreover, though his daughter had seen in a dream this vision ; she imagined she saw her father elevated in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Having seen this vision, she endeavoured by all possible means to divert Polycrates from going from home to Orætes ; and as he was going on board a fifty-oared galley, she persisted in uttering words of bad omen. But he threatened her, if he should return safe, that she should long continue unmarried ; and she prayed that so it might be brought to pass ; for she chose to continue a longer time unmarried, than be deprived of her father. 125. Thus Polycrates, disregarding all advice, set sail to visit Orætes, taking with him many others of his friends, and among them Democedes son of Calliphon, a Crotonian, who was a physician, and the most skilful practitioner of his time. But Polycrates, on his arrival at Magnesia, was put to death in a horrid manner, unworthy of himself and his lofty thoughts : for with the exception of those who have been tyrants of Syracuse, not one of all the Grecian tyrants deserves to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. But Orætes, having put him to death in a manner not to be described, caused him to be crucified : of those that accompanied Polycrates, as many as were Samians, he dismissed, bidding them to feel thankful to him for their liberty : but as many as were strangers and servants he detained and treated as slaves. Thus Polycrates, being crucified, fulfilled the vision of his daughter in every particular ; for he was washed by Jupiter, when it rained, and was anointed by the sun, himself emitting moisture from his body. Thus the constant good fortune of Polycrates ended as Amasis, king of Egypt, had foretold.¹

126. Not long after, vengeance on account of Polycrates overtook Orætes : for after the death of Cambyses, and during the reign of the magi, Orætes, continuing at Sardis, gave no assistance to the Persians, who had been deprived of the government by the Medes ; but he in this confusion put to death Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, who had upbraided him with his conduct to Polycrates, together with Mitrobates' son Cranaspes, men of high repute among the Persians ; and he

¹ See chapters 40—43.

committed various other atrocities ; and a certain courier of Darius who came to him, because he brought him an unwelcome message, he had assassinated on his return, having set men 'to way-lay him ; and when he had caused him to be slain, he had him and his horse put out of sight. 127. Darius, therefore, when he got possession of the throne, was anxious to punish Orœtes for all his iniquities, and especially for the death of Mitrobates and his son. But he did not think it prudent to send an army against him openly, as his affairs were still in a ferment, and he had but just got possession of the throne, and he heard that Orœtes had great strength ; for he had a body-guard of a thousand Persians, and held the government of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. Under these circumstances, therefore, Darius had recourse to the following plan : having called the most eminent of the Persians together, he addressed them as follows : "Which of you, O Persians, will undertake to accomplish for me this by address, and not by force and numbers ? for where skill is required, force is of no avail. Which of you, then, will either bring me Orœtes alive, or put him to death ? He has never done the Persians any service, but has brought great mischiefs upon them. In the first place, he destroyed two of us, Mitrobates and his son ; and in the next place, he slew the messenger sent by me to recall him, displaying intolerable insolence. He must therefore be stopped by death, before he has perpetrated any greater evils against the Persians." 128. Darius asked the above questions ; and thirty men offered to undertake it, each being willing to accomplish the plan alone. But Darius put an end to their competitions, by desiring them to cast lots ; and when they cast lots it fell to Bagæus, son of Artontes. Bagæus, having obtained it, did as follows : having written several letters relating to a variety of affairs, he affixed to them Darius's seal, and then proceeded with them to Sardis. On his arrival, having come into the presence of Orœtes, he opened the letters one by one, and gave them to the royal secretary to read ; for all the governors have royal secretaries. Bagæus gave the letters in order to make trial of the guards whether they would listen to a revolt from Orœtes : and perceiving they paid great respect to the letters, and still more to the contents, he gave one in which were these words : "Persians, King Darius forbids you to be guards to Orœtes."

They, when they heard this, lowered their lances to him. When Bagæus saw them so obedient to the letter, he thereupon took confidence, and delivered the last letter to the secretary, in which was written: "King Darius commands the Persians at Sardis to put Orætes to death." The guards, when they heard this, drew their scimetars, and killed him immediately. Thus vengeance overtook Orætes the Persian, on account of Polycrates the Samian.

129. When the treasures of Orætes had been removed, and had arrived at Susa, it happened not long after that Darius, in leaping from his horse while hunting, twisted his foot, and it was twisted with such violence that the ankle-bone was dislocated; and at first thinking he had about him those of the Egyptians who had the first reputation for skill in the healing art, he made use of their assistance. But they, by twisting the foot, and using force, made the evil worse; and from the pain which he felt, Darius lay seven days and seven nights without sleep. On the eighth day, as he still continued in a bad state, some one who had before heard at Sardis of the skill of Democedes the Crotonian, made it known to Darius; and he ordered them to bring him to him as quickly as possible. They found him among the slaves of Orætes, altogether neglected; and brought him forward, dragging fetters behind him, and clothed in rags. 130. As he stood before him, Darius asked him whether he understood the art. He denied that he did, fearing lest, if he discovered himself, he should be altogether precluded from returning to Greece. But he appeared to Darius to dissemble, although he was skilled in the art; he therefore commanded those who had brought him thither to bring out whips and goads. Whereupon he discovered himself, saying that he did not know it perfectly, but having been intimate with a physician, he had some poor knowledge of the art. Upon which, when Darius put himself under his care, by using Grecian medicines, and applying lenitives after violent remedies, he caused him to sleep, and in a little time restored him to his health, though he had before despaired of ever recovering the use of his foot. After this cure, Darius presented him with two pair of golden fetters; but Democedes asked him, if he purposely gave him a double evil because he had restored him to health. Darius, pleased with the speech, sent him to his own wives; and the eunuchs,

introducing him, said to the women, that this was the man who had saved the king's life ; whereupon each of them, dipping a goblet into a chest of gold, presented Democedes with such a munificent gift, that a servant whose name was Sciton, following behind, picked up the staters that fell from the goblets, and collected a large quantity of gold.

131. This Democedes visited Polycrates, after having left Crotona on the following account. He was harshly treated at Crotona by his father, who was of a severe temper, and being unable to endure this, he left him and went to Ægina ; having settled there, in the first year, though he was unprovided with means, and had none of the instruments necessary for the exercise of his art, he surpassed the most skilful of their physicians ; and in the second year, the Æginetæ engaged him for a talent out of the public treasury ; and in the third year the Athenians, for a hundred minæ ; and in the fourth year Polycrates, for two talents ; thus he came to Samos. From this man the Crotonian physicians obtained a great reputation ; for at this period the physicians of Crotona were said to be the first throughout Greece, and the Cyrenæans the second. At the same time the Argives were accounted the most skilful of the Greeks in the art of music. 132. At that time then Democedes, having completely cured Darius at Susa, had a very large house, and had a seat at the king's table ; and he had every thing he could wish for, except the liberty of returning to Greece. And in the first place he obtained from the king a pardon for the Egyptian physicians, who first attended the king, and were about to be empaled, because they had been outdone by a Greek physician ; and in the next place he procured the liberty of a prophet of Elis, who had attended Polycrates, and lay neglected among the slaves. In short, Democedes had great influence with the king.

133. Not long after these things, the following events took place : Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife to Darius, had a tumour on her breast ; after some time it burst, and spread considerably. As long as it was small, she concealed it, and from delicacy informed no one of it ; when it became dangerous, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He, saying that he could cure her, exacted from her a solemn promise, that she in return would perform for him whatever he should require of her, but *added* that he would ask nothing which

might bring disgrace on her. 134. When therefore he had healed her, and restored her to health, Atossa, instructed by Democedes, addressed Darius, as he lay in bed, in the following words: "O king, you who possess so great power, sit idle, and do not add any nation or power to the Persians. It were right that a man who is both young and master of such vast treasures, should render himself considerable by his actions, that the Persians may know that they are governed by a man. Two motives should influence you to such a course; first, that the Persians may know that it is a man who rules over them, and secondly, that they may be worn in war, and not tempted by too much ease to plot against you. You should therefore perform some illustrious action, while you are in the flower of your age; for the mind grows with the growth of the body, and as it grows old, grows old with it, and dull for every action." She spoke thus according to her instructions, and he answered, "Lady, you have mentioned the very things that I myself purpose to do; for I have determined to make a bridge and march from this continent to the other, against the Scythians; and this shall shortly be put in execution." Atossa replied, "Look you now, give up the thought of marching first against the Scythians, for they will be in your power whenever you choose; but take my advice, and lead an army into Greece; for from the account I have heard, I am anxious to have Lacedæmonian, Argive, Athenian, and Corinthian attendants: and you have the fittest man in the world to show and inform you of every thing concerning Greece; I mean the person who cured your foot." Darius answered, "Lady, since you think I ought to make my first attempt against Greece, I think it better first to send some Persians thither as spies with the man you mention; they, when they are informed of and have seen every particular, will make a report to me; and then, being thoroughly informed, I will turn my arms against them." 135. Thus he spoke; and no sooner said than done; for as soon as day dawned, having summoned fifteen eminent Persians, he commanded them to accompany Democedes, and pass along the maritime parts of Greece; and to take care that Democedes did not escape from them, but they must by all means bring him back again. Having given these commands to them, he next summoned Democedes himself, and requested him, when

he had conducted the Persians through all Greece, and shown it to them, to return back again ; he also commanded him to take with him all his movables as presents to his father and brothers, promising to give him many times as much instead. Moreover, he said, that for the purpose of transporting the presents he would give a merchant ship, filled with all kinds of precious things, which should accompany him on his voyage. Now Darius, in my opinion, promised him these things without any deceitful intention ; but Democedes, fearing lest Darius was making trial of him, received all that was given, without eagerness, but said that he would leave his own goods where they were, that he might have them on his return ; the merchant ship which Darius promised him to convey the presents to his brothers, he said he would accept of. Darius having given him these instructions, sent them down to the coast.

136. Accordingly, going down to Phœnicia and Sidon, a city of Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and with them also a large trading vessel, *laden* with all kinds of precious things ; and having prepared every thing, they set sail for Greece ; and keeping to the shore, they surveyed the coasts, and made notes in writing ; at length, having inspected the greatest part of it, and whatever was most remarkable, they proceeded to Tarentum in Italy. There, out of kindness towards Democedes, Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, first took off the rudders of the Median ships, and next shut up the Persians as spies. Whilst they were in this condition Democedes went to Crotona, and when he had reached his own home, Aristophilides set the Persians at liberty, and restored what he had taken from their ships. 137. The Persians sailing from thence, and pursuing Democedes, arrived at Crotona, and having found him in the public market, they laid hands on him. Some of the Crotonians, dreading the Persian power, were ready to deliver him up ; but others seized the Persians in turn, and beat them with staves, though they expostulated in these terms : “ Men of Crotona, have a care what you do, you are rescuing a man who is a runaway from the king ; how will king Darius endure to be thus insulted ? How can what you do end well, if you force this man from us ? What city shall we sooner attack than this ? What sooner shall we endeavour to reduce to slavery ? ” Saying this, they

did not persuade the Crotonians ; but being forcibly deprived of Democedes, and having had the trading vessel which they brought with them taken from them, they sailed back to Asia ; nor, as they were deprived of their guide, did they attempt to explore Greece any further. At their departure Democedes enjoined them to tell Darius that he had Milo's daughter affianced to him as his wife, for the name of Milo, the wrestler, stood high with the king ; and on this account it appears to me that Democedes spared no expense to hasten this marriage, that he might appear to Darius to be a man of consequence in his own country. 138. The Persians, having set sail from Crotona, were driven to Iapygia, and being made slaves there, Gillus, a Tarentine exile, ransomed them, and conducted them to king Darius ; and he in return for this professed himself ready to give him whatever he should desire. But Gillus, having first related his misfortunes, asked to be restored to Tarentum ; but that he might not disturb Greece, if on his account a great fleet should sail to Italy, he said that the Cnidians alone would suffice to effect his restoration ; thinking that by them, as they were on terms of friendship with the Tarentines, his return would be most easily effected. Darius having promised this, performed it ; for having despatched a messenger to Cnidus, he bade them restore Gillus to Tarentum ; but the Cnidians, though they obeyed Darius, could not persuade the Tarentines, and were not strong enough to employ force. Thus these things ended : and these were the first Persians who came from Asia to Greece, and they, on that occasion, were spies.

139. After these things, king Darius took Samos, first of all the cities, either Grecian or barbarian, *and he took it* for the following reason. When Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Grecians resorted thither ; some, as one may conjecture, on account of trade ; others, to serve as soldiers ; others, to view the country. Of these, the last was Syloson, son of *Æaces*, brother to Polycrates, and an exile from Samos. The following piece of good luck befel this Syloson : having put on a scarlet cloak, he walked in the streets of Memphis ; and Darius, who was one of Cambyzes' guard, and as yet a man of no great account, seeing him, took a fancy to the cloak, and coming up, wished to purchase it. But Syloson, perceiving that Darius was very anxious to have the cloak,

impelled by a divine impulse, said, "I will not sell it for any sum, but I will give it you for nothing, if so it must needs be." Darius, having accepted his offer with thanks, took the cloak. 140. Syloson thought afterwards that he had lost it through his good nature, but when, in course of time, Cambyses died, and the seven rose up against the magus, and of the seven, Darius possessed the throne, Syloson heard that the kingdom had devolved on the man to whom he had given his cloak in Egypt on his requesting it; so having gone up to Susa he seated himself at the threshold of the king's palace, and said he had been a benefactor to Darius. The porter, having heard this, reported it to the king; but he, wondering, said to the man, "What Grecian is my benefactor, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude, having so lately come to the throne? Scarcely one of them has as yet come up hither; nor can I mention any thing that I owe to a Greek. However, bring him in, that I may know the meaning of what he says." The porter introduced Syloson, and as he stood in the midst, the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had done, that he said he had been a benefactor to the king. Then Syloson related all that had passed respecting the cloak, and that he was the person who gave it. To this the king answered, "Most generous of men! art thou then the man who, when as yet I had no power, made me a present, small as it was? yet the obligation is the same as if I were now to receive a thing of great value. In return I will give thee abundance of gold and silver, so that thou shalt never repent having conferred a favour on Darius son of Hystaspes." To this Syloson replied, "O king, give me neither gold nor silver; but recover and give me back my country, Samos, which now, since my brother Polycrates died by the hands of Orætes, a slave of ours has possessed himself of. Give me this without bloodshed and bondage. 141. When Darius heard this, he sent an army under the conduct of Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish whatever Syloson should desire. Whereupon Otanes, going down to the sea, embarked his army.

142. Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, held the government of Samos, having had the administration intrusted to him by Polycrates: though he wished to prove himself the most just of men, he was unable to effect his purpose. For when the death of Polycrates was made known to him, he did as fol-

lows. First he erected an altar to Jupiter Liberator, and marked round it the sacred enclosure, which is now in the suburbs. Afterwards, when he had done this, he summoned an assembly of all the citizens, and spoke as follows: "To me, as you know, the sceptre and all the power of Polycrates has been intrusted, and I am now able to retain the government. But what I condemn in another, I will myself, to the utmost of my ability, abstain from doing. For neither did Polycrates please me in exercising despotic power over men equal to himself, nor would any other who should do the like. Now Polycrates has accomplished his fate; and I, surrendering the government into your hands, proclaim equality to all. I require, however, that the following remuneration should be granted to myself; that six talents should be given me out of the treasures of Polycrates; and in addition, I claim for myself and my descendants for ever, the priesthood of the temple of Jupiter Liberator; to whom I have erected an altar, and under whose auspices I restore to you your liberties." He then made these demands of the Samians; but one of them rising up said, "You forsooth are not worthy to rule over us, being as you are a base and pestilent fellow; rather think how you will render an account of the wealth that you have had the management of." 143. Thus spoke a man of eminence among the citizens, whose name was Telesarchus. But Mæandrius, perceiving that if he should lay down the power, some other would set himself up as tyrant in his place, no longer thought of laying it down. To which end, when he had withdrawn to the citadel, sending for each one severally, as if about to give an account of the treasures, he seized them and put them in chains. They then were kept in confinement; but after this, disease attacked Mæandrius; and his brother, whose name was Lycaretus, supposing that he would die, in order that he might the more easily possess himself of the government of Samos, put all the prisoners to death; for, as it seems, they were not willing to be free.

144. When therefore the Persians arrived at Samos, bringing Syloson with them, no one raised a hand against them, and the partisans of Mæandrius, and Mæandrius himself, said they were ready to quit the island under a treaty; and when Otanes had assented to this, and had ratified the agreement, the principal men of the Persians, having had seats placed for

them, sat down opposite the citadel. 145. The tyrant Mæandrius had a brother somewhat out of his senses, whose name was Charilaus ; he, for some fault he had committed, was confined in a dungeon ; and having at that time overheard what was doing, and having peeped through his dungeon, when he saw the Persians sitting quietly down, he shouted and said that he wished to speak with Mæandrius ; but Mæandrius, having heard this, commanded him to be released, and brought into his presence ; and as soon as he was brought there, upbraiding and reviling his brother, he urged him to attack the Persians, saying, "Me, O vilest of men, who am your own brother, and have done nothing worthy of bonds, you have bound and adjudged to a dungeon ; but when you see the Persians driving you out and making you houseless, you dare not avenge yourself, though they are so easy to be subdued. But if you are in dread of them, lend me your auxiliaries, and I will punish them for coming here, and I am ready also to send you out of the island. 146. Thus spoke Charilaus ; and Mæandrius accepted his offer, as I think, not that he had reached such a pitch of folly as to imagine that his own power could overcome that of the king, but rather out of envy to Syloson, if without a struggle he should possess himself of the city uninjured. Having therefore provoked the Persians, he wished to make the Samian power as weak as possible, and then to give it up : being well assured that the Persians, if they suffered any ill-treatment, would be exasperated against the Samians ; and knowing also that he had for himself a safe retreat from the island, whenever he chose, for he had had a secret passage dug leading from the citadel to the sea. Accordingly Mæandrius himself sailed away from Samos ; but Charilaus, having armed all the auxiliaries, and having thrown open the gates, sallied out upon the Persians, who did not expect any thing of the kind, but thought every thing had been agreed upon ; and the auxiliaries, falling on, slew those of the Persians who were seated in chairs,² and who were the principal men among them. But the rest of the Persian army came to their assistance, and the auxiliaries, being hard pressed, were shut up again within the

² Διφροφωρευμένους Baehr thinks refers to those Persians who were before described as seated opposite the citadel ; Coray, quoted by Larcher and others, thinks it means "those who were carried on litters."

citadel. 147. But Otanes the general, when he saw that the Persians had suffered great loss, purposely³ neglected to obey the orders which Darius had given him at his departure, that he should neither kill nor take prisoner any of the Samians, but deliver the island to Syloson without damage; on the contrary, he commanded his army to put to death every one they met with, both man and child alike. Whereupon, one part of the army besieged the citadel, and the rest killed every one that came in their way, all they met, as well within the temples as without. 148. Mæandrius, having escaped from Samos, sailed to Lacedæmon; and having arrived there, and carried with him all the treasures that he had when he set out, he did as follows. When he had set out his silver and golden cups, his servants began to clean them; and he, at the same time, holding a conversation with Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, then king of Sparta, led him on to his house. When the king saw the cups, he was struck with wonder and astonishment; upon which Mæandrius bade him take away whatever he pleased, and when Mæandrius had repeated this offer two or three times, Cleomenes showed himself a man of the highest integrity, who refused to accept what was offered; and being informed that by giving to other citizens he would gain their support, he went to the Ephori, and said that it would be better for Sparta that this Samian stranger should quit the Peloponnesus, lest he should persuade him or some other of the Spartans to become base. But they, having assented, banished Mæandrius by public proclamation. 149. The Persians, having drawn Samos as with a net,⁴ delivered it to Syloson, utterly destitute of inhabitants. Afterwards, however, Otanes, the general, repeopled it, in consequence of a vision in a dream, and a distemper which seized him in his private parts.

150. Whilst the naval armament was on its way to Samos, the Babylonians revolted, having very well prepared themselves. For while the magus reigned, and the seven rose up against him, during all that time, and in the confusion, they had made preparations for a siege, and somehow in doing this had escaped observation. But when they openly revolt-

³ *μνησθῆναι* *ἐπελάνθανετο*, literally "remembering he forgot." Just as *τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθεται*, B. IV. chap. 43.

⁴ For a description of this mode of taking an island, see B. VI. chap. 31.

ed they did as follows : having excepted their mothers, each man selected one woman besides, whomever he chose, from his own family, but all the rest they assembled together and strangled : the one woman each man selected to cook his food. They strangled them, that they might not consume their provisions. 151. Darius, being informed of this, and having collected all his forces, marched against them ; and having advanced to Babylon, he besieged them, who were not at all solicitous about the event, for the Babylonians, mounting on the ramparts of the wall, danced, and derided Darius and his army, and one of them spoke as follows : “Why sit ye there, O Persians? will ye not be off? for ye will then take us when mules bring forth young.” One of the Babylonians said this, who never expected that a mule would breed. 152. When a year and seven months had now passed, Darius was vexed, and all his army, that they were not able to take the Babylonians ; though Darius had recourse to every kind of stratagem and artifice against them. But even so he could not take them ; and having tried other stratagems, he made trial of that also by which Cyrus had taken them. However, the Babylonians kept strict guard, and he was not able to surprise them.

153. Thereupon, in the twentieth month, to Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus, who was one of the seven who dethroned the magus,—to this Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, the following prodigy happened ; one of his sumpter-mules brought forth young : but when the news was told him, Zopyrus himself, not believing it, went to see the foal, and having strictly charged his servants not to tell any one what had happened, he considered on it : and in consequence of the words of the Babylonian, who at the beginning said, “When even mules bring forth young, then would the city be taken,”—in consequence of this omen, he thought that Babylon could now be taken ; for that the man had spoken under divine influence, and that his own mule had brought forth young. 154. When he thought that it was fated for Babylon to be now taken, he went to Darius, and asked him whether he deemed the taking of Babylon as of very great importance ; and having learnt that he valued it at a high price, he next considered how he might be the person to take it, and the work might be his own ; for among the Persians great achievements are honoured in the

highest degree. Now, he concluded that he should not be able to reduce it in any other way, than if he should mutilate himself, and desert to the enemy. Thereupon, considering that as a light matter, he inflicted on himself an irremediable mutilation, for having cut off his nose and ears, and having cut his hair in a disgraceful manner, and having scourged himself, he presented himself before Darius. 155. Darius was very much grieved when he beheld a man of high rank so mutilated, and having started from his throne, he shouted aloud and asked who had mutilated him, and for what cause. He answered, "O king, there is no man except yourself who could have power to treat me thus; no stranger has done this, O king, but I have done it to myself, deeming it a great indignity that the Assyrians should deride the Persians." He replied, "Most wretched of men, you have given the fairest name to the foulest deed, in saying that you have injured yourself thus incurably on account of those who are besieged. How, foolish man, because you are mutilated, will the enemy sooner submit? Have you lost your senses, that you have thus ruined yourself?" He said in answer, "If I had communicated to you what I was about to do, you would not have permitted me, but now, having deliberated with myself, I have done it; now, therefore, if you are not wanting to your own interests, we shall take Babylon. For I, as I am, will desert to the city, and will tell them that I have been thus treated by you; and I think that when I have persuaded them that such is the case, I shall obtain the command of their army. Do you then, on the tenth day after I shall have entered the city, of that part of your army whose loss you would least regret, station a thousand men over against the gates called after Semiramis; again after that, on the seventh day after the tenth, station two thousand more against the gate called from Nineveh; and from the seventh day let an interval of twenty days elapse, and then place four thousand more against the gate called from the Chaldæans; but let neither the first nor these carry any defensive arms except swords, but let them have those. After the twentieth day, straightway command the rest of the army to invest the wall on all sides, but station the Persians for me at those called the Belidian and Cissian gates; for as I think, when I have performed great exploits, the Babylonians will intrust every thing to me, and, more-

over, the keys of the gates, and then it will be mine and the Persians' care to do what remains to be done.

156. Having given these injunctions, he went to the gates, turning round as if he were really a deserter. But those who were stationed in that quarter, seeing him from the turrets, ran down, and having opened one door of the gate a little, asked him who he was, and for what purpose he came. He told them that he was Zopyrus, and had deserted to them: the door-keepers therefore, when they heard this, conducted him to the assembly of the Babylonians, and standing before them he deplored his condition, saying that he had suffered from Darius the injuries he had inflicted on himself, and that he was so treated because he had advised to raise the siege, since there appeared no means of taking the city. "Now, therefore," he said, "I come to you, O Babylonians, the greatest blessing; and to Darius, his army, and the Persians, the greatest mischief; for he shall not escape with impunity, having thus mutilated me; and I am acquainted with all his designs." 157. Thus he spoke: but the Babylonians, seeing a man of distinction among the Persians deprived of his ears and nose, and covered with stripes and blood, thoroughly believing that he spoke the truth, and that he had come as an ally to them, were ready to intrust him with whatever he should ask: and he asked the command of the forces. But he, having obtained this from them, acted as he had preconcerted with Darius; for on the tenth day, leading out the army of the Babylonians, and having surrounded the thousand, whom he had instructed Darius to station there first, he cut them all in pieces. The Babylonians therefore perceiving that he performed deeds suitable to his promises, were exceedingly rejoiced, and were ready to obey him in every thing. He, therefore, having suffered the appointed number of days to elapse, and again having selected a body of Babylonians, led them out and slaughtered the two thousand of Darius's soldiers. But the Babylonians witnessing this action also, all had the praises of Zopyrus on their tongues. Then he again, having suffered the appointed number of days to elapse, led out his troops according to the settled plan, and having surrounded the four thousand, he cut them in pieces. And when he had accomplished this, Zopyrus was every thing to the Babylonians, and he was appointed commander-in-chief, and guardian of the walls. 158. But when Darius, according

to agreement, invested the wall all round, then Zopyrus discovered his whole treachery; for the Babylonians, mounting on the wall, repelled the army of Darius that was attacking them; but Zopyrus, having opened the Cissian and Belidian gates, led the Persians within the wall. Those of the Babylonians who saw what was done, fled into the temple of Jupiter Belus; and those who did not see it, remained each at their post, until they also discovered that they had been betrayed.

159. Thus Babylon was taken a second time. But when Darius had made himself master of the Babylonians, first of all, he demolished the walls and bore away all the gates, for when Cyrus had taken Babylon before, he did neither of these things; and secondly, Darius impaled about three thousand of the principal citizens, and allowed the rest of the Babylonians to inhabit the city. And that the Babylonians might have wives, in order that offspring might grow up from them, Darius made the following provision; for the Babylonians had strangled their wives, as already has been mentioned, to prevent the consumption of their provisions; and to that end he enjoined the neighbouring provinces to send women to Babylon, taxing each at a certain number, so that a total of fifty thousand women came together; and from these the Babylonians of our time are descended. 160. No Persian, in the opinion of Darius, either of those who came after, or lived before, surpassed Zopyrus in great achievements, Cyrus only excepted; for with him no Persian ever ventured to compare himself. It is also reported that Darius frequently expressed this opinion, that he would rather Zopyrus had not suffered ignominious treatment, than acquire twenty Babylons in addition to that he had. And he honoured him exceedingly; for he every year presented him with those gifts which are most prized by the Persians, and he assigned him Babylon to hold free from taxes during his life, and gave him many other things in addition. From this Zopyrus sprung Megabyzus, who commanded the army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and from this Megabyzus sprung Zopyrus, who deserted to the Athenians from the Persians.